FREE TRADE.

Or, The meanes To make TRADE flourish.

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CAP. I.

The Causes of the want of *Money* in *England*.

IT hauing pleased *God* to giue mee my *Birth* and *Being* in this *Good Land*, and vnder the *Reigne* of so *Great a* KING; whose *Peace* and *Piety*, whose *Prudence* and *Policy*, whose rare endowments of *Nature* and *Literature*, *absit omnis adulatio*, doe *Lend* to the

Christian and *Pagan* world such a *Glorious Lustre*, as that the other *Great Lights* in the *Spheares* thereof do seeme *Eclipsed*: I could not but thinke it my bounden duty, in all humble acknowledgement to *Almighty God*, and deuoted seruice to so *Mighty* a KING, to endeuour to expresse the same, in some *Publique Seruice* for the *Publique good*.

The rather for that there seemes to bee a necessity imposed vpon all men, as much as they can, to performe this duty; according to that generall precept, *Feare God, Honour the King*: As if a man could not *Feare God*, vnlesse hee *Honour the King*: nor *Honour the King*, without the *Feare of God*.

τὸν θεὸν φοβεῖ, τὸν βασιλέα τίμα.

And no marvell, when *God* himselfe setteth these duties in the *Frontispice* or top of both the Tables of the *Decalogue*: The one *Explicit* in the first Table, *Thou shalt*

shalt loue the Lord thy God: The other *Implicit* in the second Table, *Thou shalt honour the King*: as if here were Νόμος and δεύτερος νόμος, A *Law* and *another Law*: yea the *whole Law* comprised in these *Two*: and these *Two* termed the *Great Commandements*, to giue a deepe *Impression* and a liuely *Expression* of so great a duty.

πρώτη καὶ μεγάλη ἐν τολῇ; Δευτέρα δὲ ὁμοία αὐτῇ.

Yea, he doth honour *Kings* with his owne *Title*, as if he would *Part* with, and *Impart* to them, some of his owne *Honour*. *I haue sayd ye are Gods*: to which that of the *Poet* may seeme τὸν ἐγκομολικῶς to haue an elegant allusion, *Diuisum imperium cum Ioue Cæsar habet*.

In vita Virg.

And this is it I confesse that hath *Raised* & *Rowsed* mine *Affections*, to seeke out a *Subiect*, wherein I might set my selfe a taske, and as it is in the *Prouerbe*, might πάντα λίθον κίνειν, to performe some acceptable seruice, to so *Great a King*, & so *Good a Kingdome*.

But what need I *Seeke* that which *Seeketh* all men? For what is at this time more enquired after then the *Causes* of the *Decay of Trade*? And what can be more fit for my *Meditation*, then that wherein I haue had *Education*? And what hath more relation to matters of *State*, then *Commerce* of Merchants? For when *Trade flouriſheth*, *the Kings reuenue is augmented*, *Lands and Rents improoued*, *Nauigation is encreaſed*, *the poore employed*. But if *Trade* decay, *All theſe* decline with it. Neuertheleſſe when I looke vpon the *Face* of the *Great body politique* of this *Weale publike*, and therein conſider the *High wiſedome* of HIS *ſacred Maieſty*, as the *intellectual part* of this *Microcoſme*, or *alter orbis* as *Cæſar* calles it: the *Prudence* & *Prouidence* of HIS *Nobles*, as the *Eyes* thereof; the great decay of *Trade*, the *Nerues* thereof: together with the *Parliamentation* and

and *Consultation* of all the *Parts* together about these *Causes* and *Remedies*: I feare I shall seeme τὸ φῶς ἡλίῳ δαυεΐζειν, to light a Candle in the Sunne, to offer my seruice in that, about which the choicest wits of the *Kingdome* are now in consultation.

But hauing had experience of HIS *Maiesties* gracious interpretation of small seruices of his subiects employed for the publique: though *Others* much more sufficient are *Sent before*, yet could I not but expostulate with my selfe, what if I also *Runne after*, and cast in my λεπτὰ δύο, into this great *Treasury*.

Therefore if herein, any obseruations of mine, either *Forrein or Domestique*, may administer any thing worthy the information of that *Great common* and yet not common *Sense*, I shall esteeme my part most happily acted, to haue imployed my *Priuate paines* for the *Publique*

good. The rather, for that, as there are many *Causes discussed* and *discoursed* of at this time, of the *decay of Trade*; so also are there many *Remedies*: wherein if either the *Causes* be mistaken, or the *Remedies* ill applyed; the present sickness of the *Trade*, may be brought from a disease in *Fieri*, to an *Habituated* and in *Facto*, as the *Phisitians Schoole* hath it.

To find out the *Causes* of things, is a worke of *Philosophy*, and much *Felicity*, to finde out a fit *Remedy*, is of high *Eminency*: But to apply the *Remedy*, is a matter of *State* and *Policy*. And this leadeth mee to the *Method* of my *Discourse*: which parts it selfe in twaine: *viz.* Into a *double Quære*, of the *Deformation* and *Reformation* of Trade. In the *former* may be considered, the *Causes* and *Effects* thereof. In the *Causes*, the *Matter* and *Forme* of Trade. The *Matter* of Trade, is either *Naturall*

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas. Virg.

The distribution.

Naturall or *Artificiall*. The *Naturall matter* of *Commerce* is *Merchandize*: which *Merchants* from the end of *Trade* haue ſtiled *Commodities*. The *Artificiall matter* of *Commerce* is *Mony*, which hath obtained the title of *Sinewes* of *Warre* and of *State*.

Old Iacob bleſſing his *Grandchildren*, croſt his hands, and laid his right hand on the *Yonger*, and his left hand on the *Elder*: And *Money*, though it be in *Nature* and *Time* after *Merchandize*, yet foraſmuch as it is now in vſe become the chiefe, I will take leaue of Method, to handle it in the firſt place.

The Immediate cauſe of the want of Money in England, is the vnder valuation of his Maieſties Coyne, which hindereth the Importation, and cauſeth the exportation thereof.

Firſt therefore for the *Want* of *Money* in this *Kingdome*, many reaſons may bee aſſign'd. Whereof ſome are *Immediate*, ſome *Mediate* or remote. The *Immediate* reaſons of the want of Money, are either ſuch as *Hinder* the

Importation; or ſuch as *Cauſe* the *Exportation* thereof. And *Both* theſe are occaſioned by the *Vnder-valuation* of *his* MAIESTIES *Coyne*, to that of our Neighbour *Countries*. For who will procure Licence in *Spaine* to bring *Realles* into *England*, to ſell them heere at Ten in the hundred gaine, which is leſſe then the *Exchange* from thence will yeeld; when hee may haue for the ſame *Fiue and Twenty* in the hundred in *Holland*? Here fiue *Reals* of eight, which make *Twenty* ſhillings ſterling, will commonly yeeld *Two and Twenty* ſhillings or thereabouts: and the ſame in *Holland* will yeeld *Forty two ſhillings and ſixe pence* Flemiſh, which is *Fine and Twenty* ſhillings ſterling. And how can wee chooſe but want money in *England*, when the *Iacobus* pieces are currant at ſo high a rate in *Holland*? For there they goe at *Twelue* Gilders *eigh*

Spaniſh Reals worth 15. in the C. in Holland.

ſtiuers

ſtiuers the piece, which is *One* and *forty ſhillings* and *foure pence* Flemiſh, which is *Foure* and *Twenty ſhillings* & *nine pence* ſterling. And about this rate His *Maieſties* other *Coynes* of *gold* & *ſiluer* are there of reſpectiue value. For although by the *Placcaets* or *Proclamations* of thoſe parts, the *Iacobus* pieces, & other *Species* of gold and ſiluer, are there ſet at indifferent rates anſwerable to their valuation heere with vs reſpectiuely, which they there call *Permiſſie gelt*, *Proclamation money* : yet they haue other deuices to raiſe money, and draw it away at their pleaſures. As either by their *Banckes*, when the *Banckiers* will for their occaſions giue a greater price for mony then the *Proclamation* ſuffereth, and then it is called *Banck gels* : or elſe by ſlacke paymaſters, that for their owne aduantage in the raiſing of Money, will pretend not to make preſent payment

payment of their debts, vnleſſe you take their Money at a higher rate, then either the *Proclamation*, or the *Banck* Money. Which being paid and receiued, produceth a third kind, which they call *Current gelt*. And ſo by the Conniuence of the Magiſtrate, the ſame goeth from man to man, and at laſt becommeth current at an exceſſiue value So they haue *Permiſſion* or *Proclamation Mony*, and *Banck Money*, and *Current Money*, and all to draw dry the *Current* of HIS *Maieſties Coine*.

Three ſorts of Money in Holland: Permiſſion Money: Banck Money: and Current Money.

And thus the *Hepatites*, or Liuer veine of this *Great body* of ours being opened, & ſuch profuſiõs of the *Life bloud* let out; & the *Liuer* or fountain obſtructed, & weakned, which ſhuld ſuccour the ſame; needs muſt this *Great body languiſh*, and at length fal into a *Maraſmus*, or Hectike Feuer.

I am not ignorant that there hath beene great abuſe in the culling of HIS *Maieſties Coyne* here at home, and

and in melting the heauy money into plate: And that there is a great superfluity of *Plate* generally in priuate mens hands more then is necessary, and farre beyond any example of former times, which must needs also cause scarcity of money: yet on the other side I cannot deny, but that it is better to haue the same in *Plate*, as a *Treasure* of the *Kingdome*; then *turned into Coyne*, and so *turned out* of the *Kingdome*, by the vnder value thereof.

Now the *Mediate* or remote reasons of the want of money in *England*, are either *Domestique* or *Forreine*. The *Domestique* are *General* or *Special*. The *General remote* cause of our want of money, is the *great Excesse* of this *Kingdom*, in consuming the *Commodities* of *Forreine Countries*, which proue to vs *Discommodities*, in hindering vs of so much *Treasure*, which otherwise would bee brought in, in lieu of those *Toyes*,

The Mediate Causes of the want of money are Domestique or Forreine.

The Domestique is generally, Excesse.

Toyes. For now a dayes most men liue about their callings, and promiscuously step forth *Vice versâ*, into one anothers *Rankes.* The *Countrey mans* Eie is vpon the *Citizen*: the *Citizen* vpon the *Gentleman*: the *Gentleman* vpon the *Nobleman.* And by this meanes wee draw *Vnto vs*, and consume *Amongst vs*, that great abundance of the *Wines of Spaine*, of *France*, of the *Rhene*, of the *Leuant*, and of the *Ilands*: the *Raisins* of *Spaine*, the *Corints* of the *Leuant*, the *Lawnes* and *Cambricks* of *Hannault* and the *Netherlands*, the *Silkes* of *Italy*, the *Sugers* & *Tobaco* of the *West Indies*, the *Spices* of the *East-Indies*: All which are of no necessity vnto vs, & yet are *bought* with ready money, which otherwise would bee *brought* ouer in treasure if these were not. A *Common-wealth* is like vnto a *Family*, the *Father* or Master whereof ought to sell more then he buyeth, according

Ζηλοῖ δὲ τε γείτονα γείτων. Καὶ κοραμεὺς κεραμεῖ κοτέει, καὶ τέκτονι τέκτων. Καὶ πτωχὸς πτωκῶ φθονέει, καὶ ἀοιδὺς ἀοιδῷ. *Hesiod.*

according to old *Cato's* counſell, *Patrem familias vendacem non emacem eſſe oportet.* Otherwiſe his *Expence* being greater then his *Reuenue*, hee muſt needs come behind hand. Euen ſo a *Common-wealth* that exceſſiuely ſpendeth the *Forreigne* Commodities deere, and vttereth the *Natiue* fewer and cheape, ſhall enrich other *Common-wealths*, but begger it ſelfe. Where on the contrary, if it vented fewer of the *Forreigne*, and more of the *Natiue*, the reſidue muſt needes returne in treaſure.

Νήπιοι οὐδ' ἴασιν ὅσῳ πλέον ἥμισυ παντὸς, οὐδ' ὅσον ἐν μαλάχῃ τε, καὶ ἀσφοδέλῳ μεγ' ὄνειαρ.

The *Speciall remote cauſe* of our want of Money, is the great want of our *Eaſt-India Stocke* heere at home. Which is a matter of very great conſequence, and cauſeth the *Body* of this *Common-wealth* to bee wounded ſore, through the *Sides* of many particular members thereof. For the *Stocke* of the *Eaſt-India Company* being of great value, and collected

The domeſtike cauſe in ſpeciall, is the want of the *Eaſt-India Stocke* in this *Common-wealth*.

collected and contracted from all the other particular *Trades* of the *Common-wealth*; and a great part thereof hauing bin *Embargued* and *Detained* now for more then fiue yeeres last past; and that not by a *Profest Enemy*, against whom wee might haue bin *warn'd* and *Arm'd*, but by a *Friend*, a *Neighbour*, a *Next Neighbor*, one obliged to our KING and *Nation* more then to all the Kings on earth: this losse I say, is not onely thus vnkind, but is the more intollerable, in that the Common-wealth hath lost the vse and employment of the *Stocke* it selfe, and all the encrease of *Trade* which the same might haue produced, in the seuerall *Trades* of the *Subiects* whereby abundance of *Treasure* might haue beene brought into this land in all this time.

Crinitus & Volater.

It is sayd of *Belisarius* that great and famous *Commander* of the *Romanes*, that euen *Rome* it selfe owed

to

to him twice her life: and yet at last was so vnkind to *Belisarius* as to put out both his eyes, and exposed him to beg in a little Cottage built without the gates, where hee often repeated this sentence to those that passed by; *Date obolum Belisario, quem inuidia, non culpa cæcauit.* And certainely our *Nation* may challenge as much or more of these *Vnkind Friends*, then *Belisarius* euer did or could of *Rome*: and they shew themselues no lesse vnkinde, to depriue vs of the *Light* and *Life* of this *Trade* of ours, and suffer this *Nation* to vse so much importunity for their owne.

Homer reports of *Patroclus*, that he would needs put on *Achilles armour*, and ride on *Achilles horse*, but *Achilles speare* he durst not touch, and thereby was knowne to *Hector*, with whom he fought, not to be *Achilles*, and so lost his life. These friends of ours haue sometimes

Hom. Iliad.

times *Put on*, sometimes *Put off*, I had almost said, *Put out the Kings Colours*: They haue sayled in HIS subiects *Shippes*, but that *Hastam fidei* they haue not *Vsed* or *Abused* rather; whereby they haue beene *Discouered* to the *Indians*, not to be the *Subiects* of the *Faith's Defender*, as sometimes they would haue *faigned*, though to an euill purpose.

Church-man. pag. 11.

The *Romanes* were wont to weepe, at the sight of *Cæsars bloud* kept in an *Handkercher*. *Cæsars subiects bloud* is kept, not in *Handkerchiefes* but in *Sheetes*, written *within* and *without*, the *Memory* whereof maketh the people *mourne*. The *cry* thereof is *gone vp*: the *King* will remember it, the *King of Kings* will auenge it.

Plut. in Cæs. & Brut.

Constantinus the *Great*, the father of *Constantinus*, was wont often to protest, that he made more account of one *Christian* then of *all* his

Euseb.

Coffers

fers filled with *Treasure*. And the Comfort of this *Nation* is, to be the *Subiects* of such a *Soueraigne*, who as *Constantly* as euer did *Constantinus*, hath againe and againe profest, *Not to account himselfe more rich or happy, then in the prosperity of his Subiects.*

In diuers Orations and Proclamations.

Thus much of the *Domestique Remote causes* of the want of money in *England*: the *Forreine causes* follow. Which are either in respect of the *Warres in Christendome*, or the *Trades out of Christendome*. *The Warres in Christendome* are *Forreine remote causes* of the want of money, either by *Causing* the *Exportation*, as the *Warres of Christians*: or *Hindering* the *Importation* thereof, as the *Warres* of *Pyrates*. I will take the *Warres* of *Germany* for an vrgent instance of the former: which haue rayſed the *Riecks daller* from *Two* Markes *Lubish*, to *Twenty* Markes *Lubish*, in

The Forreine causes of the want of money are the warres of Christians amongst themselues, or against them by Pyrates.

many places of *Germany* : whereby abundance of Mony is drawne vnto the *Mines* of *those* Countries, from all the other *Mines* and parts of *Christendome*.

And for the latter, I will instance the *Warres* of the *Pirats* of *Argier* and *Tunis*, which hath robbed this Common-wealth of an infinite value : the *Cruelty* whereof many feele with *griefe*, others heare with *pitty*, but the *grieuance* remaines. Needes must *Christendome*, and in it *England*, feele the want of money, when either it is violently intercepted by *Turkish Pirats*, the Enemies of *God* and *man*; or the instruments surprised, as *Men*, *Ships*, and *Merchandize*, which are the *Chanels* to conuey it to vs. An *Heathenish policy* it is, or *Hellish* rather, put vpon the *Princes* and *People of Christendome* by the *Grand Siegnour*, to hold with them an outward forme of *Amity*, and in the meane

A Turkish policie.

meane time by his vaſſalls, vſe a cunning and couert *Hoſtility*.

The other *Forreine remote cauſes* of the want of Money, are the *Trades* maintained out of *Chriſtendome* to *Turkey*, *Perſia*, and the *Eaſt-Indies*. Which trades are maintayned for the moſt part with ready Money, yet in a different manner from the Trades of *Chriſtendome* within it ſelfe. For although the trades within *Chriſtendome* are driuen with ready Monies, yet thoſe Monies are ſtill *Contained* and *Continued* within the *Bounds* of *Chriſtendome*. There is indeede a *Fluxus* and *refluxus*, a *Flood* and *Ebbe* of the monies of *Chriſtendome* traded within it ſelfe: for ſometimes there is more in one part of *Chriſtendome*, ſometimes there is leſſe in another, as one Countrey wanteth, and another abound :th: It commeth and goeth, and whirleth about the *Circle* of *Chriſtendome*,

Or the Trades maidtained out of Chriſtendome with ready money.

but is ſtill contained within the *Compaſſe* thereof. But the money that is traded out of *Chriſtendome* into the parts aforeſaid, is continually iſſued out and neuer returneth againe. It is true, thoſe trades tend to an admirable encreaſe of the ſtocke of *Chriſtendome* in wares: which if they were purchaſed with the wares of *Chriſtendome*, according to the true nature of *Commerce*, the benefit were farre more excellent. For *Commercium is quaſi Commutatio mercium*, a change of wares for wares, not money for wares. And it is *Libera commeandi facultas, ab ijs qui merces vltro citroque conuehunt.*

Benvenut Strac. de Mercatur pars 1. Calepiu.

Or if the *Common-wealth* of *Chriſtendome* were like to that of **Vtopia*, where gold and ſiluer are of leſſe eſteeme then Iron, it were a braue exchange to loſe money to get wares. For the riches of former ages did not conſiſt in *Re Pecuniariâ*

* *Aurum & argentum ſic apud ſe habent, vt à nullo pluris æſtimetur quàm rerum ipſarum natura mereatur, quâ quis non videt quàm longè infra ferrum ſunt? Vtop. lib. 2.*

niariâ but *Pecuariâ*. Whence *Pecuniâ*, as *Pliny* affirmeth, was so called *a Pecude, quia Pecus fuit Pecuniæ fundamentum, & antiquitus Pecunia pecudis effigie signabatur*. But when *Immooueable* and *Immutable* things came also to be in *Commerce* amongst men, as wel as those things which were *Mooueable* and fit for change, then came money in vse, as the rule and square whereby things might receiue estimation and value. Therfore the *Ciuilians* affirme that *Numus est* ἀπὸ τῦ νόμυ, *dictus, quòd institutum sit Ciuile*. According to that of *Aristotle*. Νόμισμα ἀπὸ τῦ νόμυ ὄπυ φύσει, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ ἔστι. *Numus non est à natura sed à lege*. And thence it is that *Money* in our tongue is deriued of *Moneta, quasi numi nota*.

Omnes veterum diuitiæ in re pecuariâ consistebant. Guich. Plin. lib. 33.

Lib. 1. ff. de Contrab. emt. Lib. Eth. cap. 8.

Or if there were a *Necessity* to *Christendome* to vse those Forreine wares: or that the *Meanes* whereby they are to be procured, were without the losse of treasure:

Necessarium illud dicitur sine quo fieri non potest. Calep.

or lastly that the same tended to the *Encrease* of the *Treasure* thereof, the exchange were excellent. But first there is no such *Necessity*: for that's necessary to doe a thing without which it cannot be done: And that's necessary to the being of a *Common-wealth*, without which it cannot subsist. But thankes be to *God*, *Christendome* is richly furnished within it selfe, with all things fit for life and maintenance: whether wee respect *Vitall* vse, as foode and raiment: or *Physicall*, as vegetables and mineralls: or *Politicall*, as gold, siluer, and infinite variety of Merchandize. Nor are those wares procured without the *Losse* of Treasure, no nor with *Lesse* Treasure. For as those wares haue cost lesse in *Price*, since some late discoueries; so are they encreased in their *Quantities*, by the ample trade of all parts of *Christendome* thither, more then before: and then

then who knoweth not that a *Leſſe* quantity *Deare*, and a *Greater* quantity *Cheape*, is all one in reſpect of the value. Nor is the treaſure leſſened by changing the courſe of Trade into thoſe parts. For the *New* Trades found out, are furniſhed with a new ſupply of Money, and the *Old* neuertheleſſe iſſue out as much treaſure as before: by reaſon that the ſame are enlarged and become now as great, *Apart*, as heretofore they were, *Together*, when the *New* Trades, were included in the *Old*. So that now ſo much more of the Treaſure of *Chriſtendome* is waſted, as thoſe *Old* and *New* Trades are encreaſed, which is to an infinite value.

Nor laſtly, is the *Treaſure* of *Chriſtendome Encreaſed* by thoſe forreine trades, for the more the ſtocke of *Chriſtendome* is thereby encreaſed in *Wares*, the more it decreaſeth in *Treaſure*: which the parts of

Christendome must needes feele by *Sympathy* and *Compassion.*

And this, that prudent and politique Emperour *Charles* the fifth perceiued in his time, who vpon a question betwixt the *Spaniards* and *Portugals* about this matter, the Emperor vsed words to this effect: *You Portugalles for a surety, are enemies to all Christendome; for you carry nothing out of it but coyne, which is hurt to all Countries.*

19. *Hen.* 8. *Hall.*

CAP. II.

The Causes of the decay of Trade, in the Merchandize of England.

SVch are the *Causes* of the *Matter* of *Trade* considered in the *Want of Money*, the *Merchandize* followeth. *Merchandize* is that naturall matter of *Commerce*, whereby men busie

buſie themſelues in buying and ſelling, chopping and changing, to the encreaſe of *Artes*, and enriching of *Common-wealths*: according to that of the *Poet*, ἀγαθὴ δ' ἔρις ἥδε βροτοῖσι, *Bona lis mortalibus hæc eſt.* *Heſiod.*

And to the end there ſhould be a *Commerce* amongſt men, it hath pleaſed *God* to inuite as it were, one Country to traffique with another, by the variety of things which the *One hath*, and the *other hath not*: that ſo that which is wanting to the *One*, might be ſupplied by the *Other*, that all might haue ſufficient.

Which thing the very *Windes* and *Seas* proclaime, in giuing paſſage to all Nations: the *Windes* blowing ſometimes towards one Country, ſometimes toward another; that ſo by this *Diuine Iuſtice*, euery one might bee ſupplyed in things neceſſary for life and maintenance.

And

3.4. Na. qu.

And this, *Seneca* thought to be a principall benefit of nature, *Quòd & vento gentes locis dissipatas miscuit, & sua omnia in regiones iti descripsit, vt necessarium mortalibus esset inter ipsos Commerciũ. Nature by the benefit of the wind, hath so mixed people, dispersed in diuers places, and so distributed her gifts in diuers Countries, that there should be necessity of Commerce amongst men.* Which agreeth with that of *Aristotle, Est translatio rerum omnium cœpta ab initio, ab eo quod est secundùm naturam, cùm homines haberent plura quàm sufficerent, partim etiam pauciora negotiatione supplere id quod naturæ deest, quo commodè omnibus sufficiat.*

Ἐστι γὰρ ἡ μεταβλητικὴ πάντων ἀρξαμένη, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν, τῶν τὰ μὲν πλείω, τὰ δὲ ἐλάττω τῆς ἱκανῶν ἔχειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, μεταβλητικὴν ἀναπλήρωσιν τῆς κατὰ φύσιν αὐταρκείας. *De Repub. lib. 1. cap. 9.*

And that we doe not goe out of the *Christian world* for an example hereof, let vs consider the state of the *Netherlands*, in what a miserable case those people were, if they receiued not supply from all other

other *Nations*. They haue *Nothing* of their owne, and yet they seeme to possesse *All things*, in the *Supply* they receiue from *All the world*.

And surely if any *Kingdome* vnder the Suune can subsist of it selfe, none hath more cause to *Blesse God*, then this *Iland* of ours, which *Almighty God* hath richly adornd with varietie of all things necessary for mans life & welfare. As with *Corne*, and our **Wine*: *Cattle*, *Wooll*, *Cloth*, *Tynne*, *Iron*, *Lead*, *Saffran*, *Waxe*, *Hoppes*, *Hydes*, *Tallow*, *Flaxe*, *Fowle*, *Fish*, and many others: whereby, thanks be to *God*, the people of this Land, haue not onely *Sufficient* for their owne maintenance, but do abundantly *Supply* the wants of all other *Nations*.

* I meane *Beere* which in forreine parts is of more esteeme then wine. And to vs also in the vse, (if there were not abuse) is farre to be preferred.

Now the *Trade* and *Commerce* of this *Kingdome within it selfe*, and *with Forreine Nations*, consisting of so many rich Commodities; let vs consider them all *Ioyntly*, and then

The decay of the Merchandize of this Kingdom considered ioyntly or apart.

then some Principall of them *Apart.*

Ioyntly considered, the causes of the decay of Trade, are the want of Money, and the East-India stocke.

Iointly considered, the *Causes* of the decay of *Trade* in them, may be sayd either to be *Deficient*, or *Efficient*. *Deficient*, either in the *Generall* want of money in the Kingdome; or the *Particular* want of the *East-India stocke*. I shewed before, what were the causes of the want of mony: and that the disaster vpon the *East-India Trade* is a *Remote Cause* thereof: but these are *Both Causes* of the *Decay* of *Trade*. For *Money* is the *vitall spirit* of *trade*, and if the *Spirits faile*, needes must the *Body faint*. And as the *Body* of *Trade* seemeth to be *Dead* without the *Life* of *Mony*: so do also the *Members* of the *Commonwealth* without their *Meanes* of *Trade*. We say, that an *Artizan* or *Workeman*, cannot *Worke* without *Tooles* or *Instruments*: no more can a *Merchant Trade without Money* or meanes.

And

And in the *Want* of ſo great a *Stock*, as is that of the *Eaſt-India Company*: the *Body* of this *Commonwealth* hath loſt the vſe of many of it *Principall Members*; by whoſe induſtry, art, and action the *Commerce* thereof might wonderfully haue beene encre'ſt. The loſſe whereof, to him that is not wilfully blinde, is apparently ſenſible in the *Drapery* of the *Kingdome*, whereby the *Poore* are ſet on worke: and in all the other *Trades* of the *Kingdome*, whereby the *Subiects* are emploied: and hath begot that great and generall *Dampe* and *Deadneſſe* in all the *Trades* of the *Kingdome*, which wee vnhappily feele at this day.

Or Vſury.

The *Efficient cauſes* of the *Decay* of *Trade Iointly* conſidered, are either *Vſury*, or *Vnneceſſary Suits in Law*. In the *Former* I am preuented, and my labour ſpared, by him that wrote a little treatiſe againſt *Vſury*: which

Entituled a Tract againſt vſury, preſented to the high Court of Parliament.

which it seeme's for *Modesty* he refuseth to owe: Though I could wish, that those that deserue of the *Publique* were knowne to the *Publique*: least they be serued as sometimes *Batillus* serued *Virgil*, and so be forc't too late to proclaime, *Hos ego versiculos feci, tulit alter Honores.*

I haue a word onely to adde to his *Vsury*, that it is not an *Vsury* of *Ten* in the hundred only, that wringeth this *Common-wealth*, but an *Extortion* also of 20. 30. 40. nay of *Cento per Cento per Anno*, as the *Italians* speake, giuen and taken on **Pledges* and *Pawnes*, and that on *Poore* peoples labours, in *London* especially: which is a biting *Vsury* indeede, and a fearefull crying sinne before *God.*

* A grieuous abuse in certaine Brokers about this City, who vpon the pawnes of the Poore, take this excessiue extortion.

Of Litigious Law-suites.

Vnnecessary Suites of Law are also *Efficient Causes* of the decay of Trade. Wherein certainely this *Kingdome* exceedeth all other

Kingdomes

Kingdomes in the world. As the *Iuſtice* of this *Kingdome* is the *Diadem* of the KING, & doth *Stabilire Regis thronum*, and *Tribuere cuique ſuum*: whereby *Men* may giue *Cæſar Cæſars*, and *Meum* and *Tuum* one to another: ſo is the *Iuſtice* of the KING, in the *Sacred Perſon* of HIS *Maieſty*, amongſt other HIS *Royall Vertues*, an *Embleme* and *Repreſentation* of *Higheſt Maieſty*; and it is an incomparable happineſſe of this *Kingdome*, to haue ſuch a *Malchizedec*, a KING *of Iuſtice*, a KING *of Peace*.

מלך-
לשם
צדק
מלכי-

Neither may I forget that *Royall Teſtimony* hereof, which is worthy to be written in *Letters of Gold*, and thankefully to bee remembred of euery *Tongue* and *Pen*; whereof amongſt others more worthy, it was alſo my happineſſe to be *Oculatus* and *Auritus Teſtis*: when HIS *Maieſty* in a *Star-chamber* aſſembly, lifting HIS *Eye* toward Heanen, & laying

The Commemoration of a royall proteſtation in the Star-chamber of his Maieſties ſincerity in Iuſtice.

laying HIS *Hand* on HIS *Sonnes Head*, made such a solemne *Protestation* of HIS *Sincerity* in *Iustice*, as may serue for a matter of *Admiration* and *Imitation*, to all the Kings on earth. Those that *Went Before*, and they that *Followed after*: Those that *Heard it then*, and they that *Heard of it since*; sayd it was φωνὴ Θεοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπου. *Nec vox hominem sonat, ô Deus certè!*

If such then be the *Iustice* of the *King* and the *Kingdome*, how is it then that *Trade* is hindered by suits of *Law*? Herein *Columellae's* counsell is remarqueable, *Principi prouidendum est, ne legibus fundata ciuitas, legibus euertatur.* There cannot be too much *Iustice*, there may be too much *Law*. For the vse of *Iustice* is excellent, in contayning men within the bonds of *Ciuility* and *Honesty*: in preseruing men from *Iniury*: and in maintayning euery mans *Right and Proprietie*.

De Re Rustica.

Honestè viuere: Alterum non lædere: Suum cuique tribuere. Iuris præcept.

But

But the abuſe there-of is a moſt pernitious and dangerous ſurfeit in the *Bodie* of euery *Common-wealth.*

And this is our caſe in this *Weale-publike:* no *Kingdome* hath better *Lawes*; no *Kingdome* ſo full fraught with tedious, needleſſe, endleſſe, *Suites* of *Law.* For now this *Litigandi* κακοέξις is become κακοήθης, and waxeth ſo faſt, and groweth ſo great, that *Suites* of *Law* doe ſeeme immortall: time doth encreaſe them, and length of time would not determine them, if the wiſedome of thoſe *Graue Fathers* of the *Law* did not put an end to the malice of the *Litigants:* as is now worthily obſerued in Chancerie, to his honour and memorie that hath ſo happily begun the ſame.

By the growth and greatneſſe of which *Suites*, I ſay, a great number of HIS Maieſties good and lo-

uing subiects are vexed, imprisoned impouerished and ouerthrowne: and whilst the *Litigants* striue together, another taketh away the *Fish*, and as it is in the *Apologue*, leaueth to either of them an empty *shell*. And thus mens time and meanes being spent in *Law*, which should be employed in *Trade*, trade is neglected, and the *Commonwealth* depriued, of the benefit that might be purchased and procured thereby.

The Decay of trade considered apart, in the Ordinance and Munition.

And thus much for the *decay of Trade* considered *Ioyntly*. It followeth now to consider them *Apart*, in some principall parts thereof. Which may be reduced, to such as tend to the *Fortification of the Kingdome*, or *Maintenance of Trade*. The *former* are *Ordinance* and *Munition*: the too-too common exportation whereof, hath taught vs wofull experience of an invaluable inconuenience thereby which

which euery man is ſenſible of: and therefore I neede not *preſſe* it: I wiſh it did not *Oppreſſe* vs.

The *Latter*, I will referre to things eſſentiall, for the preſeruation of mans life, as *Victus* and *veſtitus*: yet ſuch of them alſo as doe aford wondrous variety of Trade, and may be termed the *Nourceries* thereof, as the *Fiſhing* and *Clothing* of this *Kingdome*. For on theſe two, all ſorts of *Trades* and *Tradeſmen*, haue ſome dependance.

The inconuenience in the *Former*, is that *Encroaching* of *Strangers*, in *Fiſhing* vpon our *Coaſts*: whereby not onely the *Bread* is taken out of the ſubiects *Mouth*, but that infinite *wealth*, which *God* hath made *Proper* and *Peculiar* vnto *Vs*, is become *Common* vnto *them*. Whereby alſo, their *Nauigation* is wonderfully encrea'ſt, their *Marriners* are multiplied, and

Or in the Fiſhing.

exceeding great *Trades* maintained into all parts of the Chriſtian World. And Victuals commonly yeelding ready money, and tolleration of exportation thereof, the ſame hath redounded to an infinite enriching of their Countries with *Treaſure*, exhauſted out of theſe *Mines* of our's.

I am not ignorant that a learned man of that ſide, preſſing hard in a Treatiſe entituled *Mare liberum*, the Communitie and freedome of the *Sea* againſt the *Portugall* Trade into the *Eaſt Indies*; doth cunningly and obliquely, vnder the couert termes of *Populi Romani littus*, defend and maintaine, in the fift Chapter thereof, their *Fiſhing* vpon our *Coaſts*. For thus hee concludeth, *Nemo igitur poteſt à populo Romano ad littus maris accedere prohiberi, & retia ſiccare, & alia facere, quæ ſemel omnes homines in perpetuum ſibi licere voluerunt.* And againe,

againe, *Exteris ius piſcandi, vbique immune eſſe debet.*

Eodem cap. p. 28.

To part of which Treatiſe, there is an anſwere entituled, *De Dominio Maris*, to which I referre thoſe that deſire further ſatisfaction in this matter. But in my iudgement, which I ſubmit to better iudgement, the Author of *Mare liberum*, though otherwiſe very learned, ſtrayneth his Arguments for that purpoſe beyond their ſtrength. For *Ius* is ſaid to be *ſcriptum*, or *Non ſcriptum*. And *Non ſcriptum* is *Conſuetudo*. And *Conſuetudo non minus eſt ſpecies iuris, quàm ius ſcriptum*. And by both theſe, the *Proprieties* of the Seas may be proued, to belong to thoſe *Princes* and *Countries*, to which they are next *Adiacent*.

De Arte iuris cap. 13.

For *Cuſtome*, the examples of our Neighbor Countries round about vs are frequent. As of *Coeldine Groeneland*, *Norway*, and *Friſeland*

vnder the *King* of *Denmarke*. *Tunny fishing* vnder the *Duke* of *Medina*. The *Gulfe of Venice* vnder that *Seignory*. And many others I might instance: In all which there is no liberty of fishing, but by *Speciall priuiledge* had from those *Princes* to whō the same belongeth. Which being so, we may well conclude with the *Poet*, *Cùm ventum ad verum est, sensus moresque repugnant.* Hor.

For the *Law* it selfe, it is not hard to produce some of his owne Authors against himselfe. As the *Emperour Leo*: of whom hee thus speaketh, *Voluit πρόθυρα, hoc est, vestibula maritima eorum esse propria, qui oram habitarent; ibique eos ius piscandi habere.* Mare liberum p. 25. Nouella Leo. 56

Also *Rodericus Suarius*, whose testimony because he was a *Spaniard*, he produceth against the *Portugals* in the end of his fift Chapter: whom, if hee had pleased, he

hee might alſo haue thus cited: *Redditus piſcariarum conſueti, vt eſt gabella, ſeu aliud tributum ſolui conſuetum, de his quæ in mari piſcatores faciunt, ſeu a mercatoribus de his quæ emunt aut vendunt, Principibus conceduntur.* Roderic. Suarius de vſu Maris. conſil. 1.

To which I will onely adde that of *Bartolus*, whom the *Ciuilians* call *Iuris Lucernam*, thus ſpeaking: *Vt Inſulæ in mari proximè adiacentes, ſic & mare ipſum ad centum vſque milliaria pro territorio diſtrictúque illius regionis cui proximè appropinquat, aſſignatur.* L. Inſulæ ff. de in. &. L. Cæſar. ff. de public.

The reſt that the Author of *Mare liberum* enforceth, of the Community and Freedome of the *Sea* to all *Nations*, he vnderſtandeth of matters in queſtion, betweene the *Portugals* and thoſe of his *Nation*, concerning their *Eaſt India Trade*, and not of their *Fiſhing* vpon our *Coaſts*. Which *Queſtion* in my iudgement, being *out of queſtion*

were better determined by *Action* then *Disputation*: It being a *Royalty* of the King, and a *Regall Priuiledge* of this *Kingdome*, assigned by *Almighty God*.

Or in the Clothing.

From the *Fishing* come wee to the *Clothing* or *Drapery* of this *Kingdome*: the consideration whereof is of very high consequence, and concerneth both the *Soueraigne* and the *Subiect*, *Noble* and *Ignoble*; euen al sorts, and callings and conditions of men in this *Commonwealth*. For this is sayd to bee a *Flower* of the Kings *Crowne*, the *Dowry* of the *Kingdome*, the chiefe *Reuenue* of the King. This is a *Bound* to fortifie, and a *Bond* to knit the subiects together in their seuerall societies. This is the *Gold* of our *Ophir*, the *Milke* & *Hony* of our *Canaan*, the *Indies* of *England*: and therefore *Desire's* & *Deserue's* to be had in an euerlasting remẽbrance.

The *Draperies* of this *Kingdome* are

are termed *Old* and *New*. By the *Old*; are vnderstood *Broad Cloathes*, *Bayes* and *Kersies*: By the *New*; *Perpetuanoes*, *Serges*, *Sayes*, and other *Manufactures* of *wooll*.

The *Causes* then of the *Decay* of *Trade* in these *Draperies*, are either *Domestique* or *Forreine*. The *Domestique causes*, are some *past*, some *Present*. *Those Past*, are apparent in the late disturbance of the Cloth-trade; which is so obuious to euery man, that I had rather *Passe by it*, then *Presse vpon it*, because it is *Past*: and I would to God that so were the effects of it also. In charitie wee may thinke it was *Good* in the *Purpose*, though it proued *Ill* in the *Practise*. For thereby the *Draperies* of this *Kingdome* are much diminished, and the forreine aduanced and aduantaged. The quantities of which last, were formerly few or none, but now they exceede our highest numbers issued

ed out of the land: as by a colecti-on thereof, which my selfe made in those parts, by HIS *Maiesties* speci-all cõmand, in the time of *Secretary Winwoods* seruice, may appeare.

These Present, may be discern'd in the *Cloth-trade*, either vnder the *Clothier*, or vnder the *Merchant*. Vnder the *Clothier*, either by *Ill ma-king*, or *False sealing* the Cloth.

The decay of Clothing vnder the Clothier, or vnder the Merchant.

For the making of good and true Cloth, many excellent lawes haue bin inuented & enacted by the wis-dome of the *Parliaments* of this land, from time to time. And the Statute of 4. of the *King Cap.* 2. doth seeme to bee an *Epitome* or *Compendiary* of all the former Sta-tutes in this kinde. In this Statute is prescribed, the true breadth, and length, and waight, that may con-duce to the making of a true and perfect Cloth, Kersie or Manufa-cture. If a Clothier make a Cloth of lesse waight, then is set downe

4. *Iacob.*

Vnder the Clothier, by ill making, or false sealing of Cloth.

in

in the ſaid Statute, he offendeth in *Quantitie*: If of leſſe breadth, or length, or of forbidden kindes of wooll, hee offendeth in *Qualitie*. If a Clothier offend in *Neither* of theſe by his *Owne Act*, yet he may offend in *Both*, by his *Inſtruments* or *Workmen*: Either by the *Weauers*, in *not putting in* the ſtuffe *at the making*; or by the *Tuckers* in *pulling out* the ſtuffe *after the making* thereof.

A Cloth alſo may be well made; & yet falſe ſealed. A Cloth may be ſaid to be lawfully made, when it is truly ſealed. For althogh it may be impoſſible to make ſome Clothes, iuſt of thoſe quantities and qualities preſcribed by the Statute; as the *Clothiers* terme is, *A man cannot caſt a cloth in a mould*: yet I hope, they will giue me leaue to ſay, that it is poſſible that a Cloth may bee true ſealed, though falſe made. And then a *Cloth ill made*, and *true ſealed*.

sealed, whereby the buyer may see what hee hath for his money, may bee said to bee a good or lawfull Cloth according to the Statute.

Now the execution of the Statute for *Searching* and *Sealing of Clothes*, seemeth to be referred to two sorts of men: which are either the *Aulnager* or *Searcher*. The *former* may seeme originally to haue beene an Officer appointed for that purpose, as well by the *Notation* of the name, as by some *Ancient Statutes*. For *Aulne*, and *Aulnage*, and *Aulnagier*, are all *French* words, taken from the measuring of Cloth. And thence it is, that in that tong they are wont to say *Aulner draps* to measure Clothes, by a *Trope* taken from the *Instrument* by which they are *Measured*.

11. *Hen.* 4. 6. &c.

But because the care of the *Aulnage* is committed to so *Noble and Honourable a Personage*, that will not

not ſuffer any abuſe in the execution of that office: and the ſaid Statute of 4. *Iacobi*, and the former Statutes of 39. and 43. *Elizabethæ* doe referre the *Searching* and *Sealing* of Clothes, to certaine *Ouerſeers* or *Searchers*, ſo called by the ſaid *Statutes*, I will proceede vnto them.

And foraſmuch as *Execution* is the *Life* of the *Law*, as HIS *Maieſtie* in his *High wiſdome* admoniſheth: and the *Prudence* and *Prouidence* of the *State*, haue beene very great in deuiſing and enacting ſuch good lawes from time to time, as might tend to the encreaſe and aduancement of the *Drapery* of this *Kingdome*: If therefore now any thing bee amiſſe therein, it muſt needs come through the want of *Execution* of thoſe *Lawes*. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ!* This *Bonum* according to HIS *Maieſties Regall rule*, is not *Benè*. For theſe *Ouerſeers* and *Searchers*

In his Maieſties ſpeech in Parliament. In *Iune* 1611.

Eadem Oratione Regia.

Searchers being ſilly Countreymen, and generally not expert in the *myſtery* of making of Cloth: in the *Search* whereof, there is as much neede of skill as in the making: for how ſhould they finde the fault, that know not how it is committed? Theſe Searchers I ſay, thus being ignorant and vnskilfull in their offices, and negligent alſo, (in which laſt, it hath beene againe and againe confeſt, that they haue ſet the ſeales of their office, to Clothes they neuer ſearch't nor ſaw) needs muſt there be a great abuſe, in the *Execution* of thoſe good *Lawes*.

Nay I would I could not ſay, how much our Nation hath beene vpbrayded by the people of forreine parts with this abuſe, that the *Searchers Seales* of *England* are *bought* and *ſold* as in a market, and put on the Clothes by the *Tuckers*, and other the ſeruants of the

Clo-

Clothiers, as if the same had beene lawfully *Searched* and *Sealed* according to the *Statute*; when as the *Searchers Eye* neuer so much as beheld the *Clothes*.

Wherein the people of the *Netherlands* are so exact, that you shall neuer find any of their Country Clothes false *Search't* or *Seal'd*. For you shall haue a *Seale* set vpon the Cloth when it commeth from the *Weauers*: another when it commeth frō the *Tuckers*: another when it cōmeth from the *Dyers*: and that by men of good quality, appointed for that purpose in euery *City* and *Towne* where Cloth is made, termed *Curemasters*: so called from the *Care* they ought, and doe performe, in the execution of their office: wherein indeed they are so exact, that you shall neuer finde any of the *Seales* aforesaid, set to any manner of *false* or *Defective* Cloth.

For indeed the *Searcher* being a *sworne*

Sworne Officer, ought to be as a witnes without exceptiō betwixt man and man: that when a man seeth the *Searchers seale* set vpon the Cloth, it should serue as a true *Certificat* of the true making thereof. It is a great impiety before *God* and *Man*, to be a false witnesse in any case: but these *Searchers* are false witnesses *Ipse facto*, when they doe *Testifie* to the world by their *Seales*, that those Clothes are *Good* and *True*, which indeede are vtterly *False*. And which aggrauateth the matter yet more, that *the Kings Seale of Armes*, wich is *testis omni exceptione maior*, should also bee set to Clothes thus *Falsely searched* & *sealed*; whereby not onely *the Kings Subiects*, but the *Strangers* also in *Forreine parts* are deceiued, is a very grosse and grieuous abuse.

An example of Clothes ill made, searched and sealed.

Amongst other abuses of this kinde, one precedent come's to my minde, of *Ten* Clothes bought not long

long since by a *Merchant*, of a *Clothier* of *Wiltshire*. Which Cloathes were all *Sealed* by the *Searchers* of that place, for good & true, according to the Statute. But being tried by the *Merchant-Buyer*, and afterward by the *Sworne-measurer* of the Citie of *London*, were found so defectiue in length, breadth and waight, that where these *Ten* Clothes cost but 60 *lib.* or thereabouts, the faults in these *Ten* Clothes came to neere 20. *lib.* which was one third part of the value of the Cloth. And it being a notable contempt of the law, the *Lords* of HIS *Maiesties most Honourable Priuie Councell* were informed thereof; who were pleased to send downe a *Messenger* into that *County*, and fetch't vp both the *Clothier* and *Searchers*, who worthily vnder-went the Condigne Censure of the Lords.

Vnder the *Merchant* also the

The Cloth trade suffereth vnder the Merchant, at home and abroad.

At Home by Exportation of the Materials, or Impositi-on of Charge.

Cloth-trade suffereth both at *Home* and *Abroad*. *At Home*, by *Exporting the Materials*, either of *Woolles* or *Wool-fels* from the *Sea coasts* of *England*, and the *Kingdome* of *Ireland*: or by *Ouer-lading* the *Cloth-trade*, either with any *generall* or *speciall* charge.

The *latter* I cannot pretermit: for as the chiefe waight of the *Cloth-trade* lyeth on the *Merchants-Aduenturers*; so also is the burthen of charge most felt vnder that *Trade*. For the *Impositions and Impreſt money* by them layd vpon the *Cloth*, for defraying the charge of their Gouernment, and paiment of their Debts, haue driuen many good *Merchants* out of the Trade, and giuen the *Clothiers* occasion to complaine of want of *Buyers*, and thrust the Trade it selfe more and more into the *Strangers* hands.

Abroad by vnfit Residence.

And *abroad*, by the *vnfit place of Residence*, which the *Merchants-Aduenturers* are fallen vpon in

Holland. Whither they goe with great perill of Ship and Goods: And where they come farre ſhort of that they hoped for; and of that quicke and ample vent of their Cloth they found in *Zeeland.* The *Agitation* of which remooue; is vehemently ſuſpected to haue moued the *Merchants* of *Holland*, to procure *Priuiledges* of the *States Generall* to *Incorporate* themſelues, and *keepe Courts*, to confront the *Merchant Aduenturers*; which they neuer did before: To haue drawne the **Turing* of Cloth into *Holland*, where the *Buyers* are in ſome ſort *Iudges* & *Parties*; which before was in the *Mart-Towne*, where the *Seller* was preſent: And laſtly, to haue haſtned the great *Impoſition* in *Holland.* All which are matters of moment, and concerne the *Cloth-Trade* very much, and whereof the *Engliſh Factors* there reſiding doe generally complaine:

* That is, abating for the faults thereof.

Yet *These* I rather instance then vrge: leauing the further Ouerture thereof to their own relation.

Forreine causes of the decay of the Drapery, are the warres and the great Imposition in *Holland*.

Now the *Forreine Causes* of the decay of the *Drapery* of *England*: are either *Generall*, as the warrs in *Germany*: or *Speciall*, as the *Great Imposition* latelie layde vpon our Cloth in *Holland*.

By the *Former*, the Course of Trade is stopt and hindered, that Merchants cannot passe without perill from place to place: and the monies become so variable, that when a Merchant hath sold his Cloth, and hopeth to haue gained something thereby; by that time that the terme for payment is expired, hee receiueth lesse in value then the Clothes cost, by the *Raising* and *Rising* of the monies.

By the *latter*, the *Merchants* of the *Netherlands* are discouraged, whereby many of them haue giuen ouer their Trades, which heretofore they followed in ample man-

ner, in our *English* Clothes bought of the *Merchants Aduenturers* from time to time: which hath also tended to the aduancement of the *Dutch Draperies*; because the same are freed of all manner of charge.

CHAP. III.

Of gouerned Trade, and therein of Monopoly.

HItherto the *Matter of Trade* hath beene considered in *Money* and *Merchandize*: the *Forme* followeth, and that either in respect of *Gouernment*, or *Want of Gouernment* in trade. *Gouernment* is a representation of the *Maiestie* and *Authoritie* of *the* KING. The subiect that is honoured with *Gouernment*, is inuested with part of the KINGS *Honour*. The *Trades* of this *Kingdome*, which *by* HIS *Maiesties especiall Grace and Fauour*, are reduced vnder *Order and Gouernment* into *Corporations*, *Companies*, and *Societies*, doe certainelie much

Aduance and *Aduantage* the *Commerce* of this *Common-wealth*, and farre excell the trades of any other forreine Merchants in their vngouerned trades.

But as the *Vse* of *Gouernment* is excellent for the restraint of vnskilfull and disorderly trade: so the *Abuse* thereof is as inconuenient, if at any time the same be too strict, and come within the compasse of a *Monopoly*. And because the name and nature of *Monopoly*, is more *talk't of*, then well *vnderstood* of many; and some thinke that the reducing of trade into *Order* and *Gouernment*, is a kinde of *Monopolizing* and restraint of trade: I haue thought it not vnseasonable to bestow some speciall paines in the diligent inuestigation thereof. Not that I would haue the trade of the *Kingdome* so circumscribed or appropiated to any, that others of HIS *Maiesties* Subiects should bee depriued

depriued of the libertie thereof; but that vpon equall & reasonable termes, trading vnder *Order* and *Gouernment*, without that ill tincture of *Monopoly*, the KINGS *high way of trade* should be opened vnto all.

The name therefore of *Monopoly* in our English tongue, is deriued, as the learned know, of the Greeke word Μονοπόλιον: whence also the latine word *Monopolium* is borrowed. Some deriue it of Μόνος *Solus*, and πωλέω *Vendo*, to sell alone. Others of Μόνος *Solus*, & πωλέομαι *Versor*, to cõuerse alone. Other of Μόνος *Solus*, and πόλις *Ciuitas*, *quasi vnica negotiatio in Ciuitate*. But all these agree in one meaning of the word, that it is *Singularis Negotiatio*, a diuerting of *Commerse* from the naturall course and vse thereof, into the hands of some few, to their benefit, and others preiudice. I also find many *definitions* of *Monopolies*:

and a great queſtion among the *Ciuilians*, whether a *Monopoly* may bee exerciſed of one alone; and whether it conſiſt aſwell in *Locatio Conductio*, as they ſpeak, as in *Emptio Venditio*. Which laſt is out of queſtion with all. And of the former, I find an inſtance in *Ariſtotle* of *Thales Mileſius* his *Monopoly*: who by his knowledge in *Aſtrologie*, fore-ſeeing one yeare in the winter, that there would bee great plentie of *Oyles* the next yeare, hired before-hand all the places and engins for making of *Oyle* through both the Ilands of *Melazo* & *Chius*, and afterwards let out the ſame againe at his owne pleaſure & price. In the ſame place hee maketh alſo mention of another, who bought vp all the Iron in *Sicilia*, which afterwards he ſold againe, and made one hundred *Talents* of that which coſt him but fiftie. Amongſt others I will take the *definition* of *Althuſius*

Huiuſmodi contractus tanta emptionis & conductionis ſimilitudine confundebatur, vt vix ac ne vix quidem à iuris conſultis internoſci poſſit.
Hottom. ad tit. 7. locati in lib. 18. & 19. De Rep. lib. 1. cap. 11.

Althusius for all the rest. *Monopolium*, saith he, *Est Commercium emendi, vendendi, permutandiue, à paucis vel vno etiam vsurpatum, reliquis ciuibus præceptum, quo prætia augentur cum lucro negotiantis, & reliquorum damno.* That is, *Monopoly is a kind of Commerce, in buying, selling, changing, or bartering, vsurped by a few, and sometimes but by one person, and foreſtalled from all others, to the Gaine of the Monopolist, and to the Detriment of other men.* *Polit. cap 31. n. 20.*

The parts then of a *Monopolie* are twaine. The restraint of the libertie of *Commerce* to some one or few: and the setting of the price at the pleasure of the *Monopolian* to his priuate benefit, and the preiudice of the publique. Vpon which two *Hinges* euery *Monopoly* turneth. And these two parts are respectiuely repugnant to the two fundamental requisites of all good

Lawes

Lawes: to wit, *Equity*, and *Vtility*, For it is againſt *Equitie*, that one Member of a *Common-wealth* ſhould bee more free then another of equall ranke and condition. And what can be more contrary to *Publique Vtility*, then that ſome one or few perſons, ſhould ſway the price of any thing vſefull to the *Common-wealth*, to their owne *Enriching*, and the *Common loſſe* of other men? And heere it is to bee well obſerued, that vnleſſe theſe two parts concurre in a *Monopoly*: it cannot truely and properly bee ſo called, nor ought it ſo to bee accounted. And therefore *Althuſius* following *Decianus*, ſaith well of that reſtraint of the *Cõmon Liberty*, which we call *Suit of Mill*: which compelleth men to vſe this or that *Mill to grinde corne*, and none other: that it doth onely *Sapere Monopolium*, Sauour of Monopoly: but that it is not truly and properly

Althuſius polit. cap. 32.
Tib. Decianus tract. crim. cap. 21.
Menoch. lib. 2. n. 569.

ly

ly a *Monopoly*. For in that caſe of *Suit of Mill*, vnleſſe there be a greater tolle or recompence exacted for grinding, then at other Milles, it falleth onely within the firſt part of a Monopoly, to wit, *Of the Reſtraint of the Publike Libertie*; but not within compaſſe of the other part, *The Setting of the Price*. But for this *Reſtraint of the Publike Liberty of Commerce*, it may be ſo ordered by the *Wiſedome of the State*, that it may bee both *Lawfull* and *Beneficiall* to the *Common-wealth*. Which aſſertion, becauſe it may ſeeme ſtrange to ſome, I will make euident by *Good Authoritie* and *Examples*. *Peter Martyr* that famous light of the Churches of the Goſpell, defendeth the reſtraint of *Salomon*, that none ſhould buy *Horſes of Egypt* without his Licence, to bee Lawfull. And of this kinde is the *Preemption of Tinne* heere in *England*, granted by HIS *Maieſties Gracious*

P. Mart. in 1. Reg. c. 10. &c.

Gracious Letters Patents to some few, with restraint of all others: which I dare boldly affirme is not only *lawful*, but very *beneficial* also to this *Common wealth*. For thereby our *Thrice Noble Prince* receiueth a good reuenue, and the *Tinne* of this Land is sold for many thousand pounds a yeare more in Forrein parts, then otherwise it would, to the great increase of the *Common stocke* of this *Kingdome*. Also the Law of this *Realme* alloweth, that if any man inuent a new Art, beneficiall to the *Common-wealth*, hee may haue a Patent to vse that Arte solely, with restraint of all others for seuen yeares: as well in recompence of his industry, as for the incouragement of others, to studie and inuent things profitable for the publique *Symbiosis*. The *Statutes* of the *Kingdome* restraine from the exercise of sundry *Crafts*, all such as haue not serued an apprentishood

prentiſhood vnto that *Art* which they would exerciſe: to the end that thoſe *Arts* might bee brought to better perfection, and the things made, might be good and ſeruiceable for thoſe that buy and vſe them.

The reſtraint of the *Publique libertie*, is ſometimes exerciſed by *Priuate Authoritie*: ſometimes by *Publique*. Which diſtinction is made by the *Emperour Zeno*. *Iubemus ne quis pro ſua authoritate, vel ſacro elicito reſcripto, &c. Monopolium audeat exercere.* *Cod. lib. 4. Tit. 59.*

The *former* is practiſed, when any one or more, haue by their owne priuate contracts, gotten any Commoditie or matter of *Commerce*, wholly into their owne hands. Of this kinde are the examples aboue cited out of *Ariſtotle*.

The *latter* is, when by Publique authority, the liberty of the ſubiect is

is restrained: which is done, sometimes by the *Prerogatiue of the* KING: sometimes by *Act of Parliament.*

The *Former*, by dispensing with a generall Law in some poynt, and applying the dispensation to some one or few, with restraint of others. The *Latter*, by prohibiting all, but some one or few persons to vse the benefit of the Law in some poynt or other.

For dispensing with the Lawes, it is without question, that the KING hath power to dispence with a *Penal Law*, when it prohibiteth that which is not *Malum in se.* For the *Parliament* hauing made a *Statute* with intent of the *Publique good:* yet the same by reason of something not foreseene at the making of the Law, may prooue very preiudiciall in the Execution. And then the *Malum prohibitum*, as the *Lawyers* speake, may be dispenced

penced with by the KING. Thus the *Parliament* hauing prohibited the exportation of white Clothes vndreſt aboue the price of foure pound the Cloth: the obſeruation of that Statute was found by experience to be very preiudiciall to the Trade, and free vent of the Cloth in forreine parts. Whereupon Q. *Elizabeth*, granted a Speciall Licence to the Fellowſhip of the *Merchant Aduenturers*, to tranſport all ſorts of white Clothes vndreſt, with a *Non obſtante* to that Statute. And although all other men ſtood lyable to the Statute ſtill, and were reſtrained, yet the *Vtilitie* that hereby aroſe to the *Common-wealth*, did farre exceede the reſtraint of the *Publique Libertie*. For within fewe yeares after the granting of this Licence, the vent of Cloth in forreine parts increaſed to twice as much, as formerly it was during the ſtrict obſeruation of

33. H. 8.

Anno 6. Eliz.

of the Statute. Other like diſpenſations of Statutes, I might inſtance: as that of the 28. *H.* 8. concerning the retayling of *Gaſgoine Wines* at two pence a quart: which is diſpenſed with, by a Licence to the *Company of the Vintners*: but theſe may ſuffice for euery mans vnderſtanding of this kinde of reſtraint.

For *Prohibition by Act of Parliament*: ſuch is the Act whereby all the ſubiects of this Realme, excepting ſuch as are of the Corporation of the *Muſcouy Company*, are forbidden to trade into any part of *Ruſſia*. Alſo that of 3. *Iacob.* concerning *Artizan Skinners*, whereby all but that *Company* are forbidden to buy and retaile ſome ſorts of Skinnes. In theſe and the like, the *Parliament* maketh reſtraint of the *Common liberty of Commerce*, and the ſame reſtraint is againe releaſed, not vnto all, but to ſome per-

3 *Iacob.*

ſons

sons or *Corporations* by *speciall Exception and Prouiso* of the Act of *Parliament*.

The Later kinde of Restraint by Publique Authority, is when that which seemeth by the Lawe to be free to al, is by some *Patent or Proclamation of the Prince*, prohibited to all, sauing some certaine *Corporations*, or persons specially excepted and authorized in the same *Patent* or *Proclamation*. Of this kind are generally reputed all *Corporations* of *Merchants*, which are not confirmed by *Act of Parliament*. Which are generally reputed to carry with them a restraint to others, of that *Liberty*, which the Law doth seeme to offer to all in point of *Commerce*. Whence it is that so many pleade the *Freedome* of subiects, and *Presse* or rather *Oppresse* that plea of equity, that it is equall that all subiects should bee alike free to bee Merchants in all

Trades. To whom I answer, that first there is no good *Equality* in it, because it is against the *Publique Vtility*, that all should bee Merchants at their pleasure. For that's not equall, that may seeme profitable to one, and bee hurtfull to many. *Atque ipsa vtilitas iusti prope mater & æqui*, as *Horace* speaketh. And yet what point of *Equity* is broken, when the freedome of Societies is so carryed, that it is open to all men vpon equall termes; that is to say, either by seruice or purchase? Otherwise it were very vnequall, that one man should serue for his freedome, or buy the same: and another man should haue it for nothing. If this point were well thought vpon, I presume the *Gracious Grants and Priuiledges* of His *Maiestie*, conferred vpon *Societies*, would not seeme so much a *Restraint* of the *Common liberty*, as a prudent ordering

ring and accommodating thereof vnto the *Publique Vtility*. For it hath euer beene a *Policy* of this *State*, to reduce the *Trades* of *Merchants* of this *Kingdome* into *Corporations* and *Societies*, for the aduancement of Trade, by the benefit of order and gouernment: well foreseeing that there cannot bee any greater *Bane* to a *Well-gouerned Common-wealth*, then *Ill-gouerned and Disorderly Trade*. Whereof I shall haue fitter occasion to speake in the next Chapter, when I come to treat of the Inconueniences of the want of gouernment in Trade. So that in this case the general rule must be this; that such a *Restraint* of the *Publique Liberty*, as is before mentioned, is alwayes to be allowed, when the same is recompenced with a *Publique Vtility*. According to that of *Tacitus*, *Omne magnum exemplum habet in se aliquid iniqui, quod vtilitate publica contra singu-* *Tacitus.*

los compensatur. Also the liberty that the Law seemeth to giue the subiects in Trade, is to bee vnderstood, of imploiment *Within the Kingdome*, not *Without the Kingdome.* For what liberty can a *Nationall Law*, giue to a *Forrein Trade* vnder a *Forreine Iurisdiction*, when the liberty or restraint thereof dependeth vpon those *Forreine Princes and States* where that Trade is tollerated? Therfore the *Law* may giue the subiect Liberty *Within the Land*, but it is the KING that must enable men to trade *Without the Land.* For all the *Trades* of the *Merchants* of this *Kingdome* into *Forrein countries*, are grounded vpon the *Amity* of the KING, and the *Treaties of Peace* contracted by *the* KING, with the *Kings and Rulers* of those *forreine parts*, at his owne charge, and by HIS own Authority, without the assistance of HIS *Parliament.* And therefore it holdeth

deth good congruity, that *the* KING by HIS like Authority, may haue the diſpoſing and ordering of ſuch HIS contracts at his owne pleaſure.

The ſecond part of *Monopoly* remaineth, of the *Setting of the Price* at the pleaſure of the *Monopoliſt*, to his *Priuate gaine*, & the *Publique loſſe*. This *Gothofredus* calleth *the Forme* of a *Monopoly*. And in truth it is the very *Soule* and *Accompliſhment* thereof. And he or they that haue this power ouer the price of the thing they negotiate, may well be ſaid according to the notation of *Monopoly*, from μόνος and πωλέω, to *conuerſe alone*. For in ſo doing, they ſo liue, as none can liue by them, in reſpect of their ſinguler gaine in this kinde: Contrary to that honeſt Prouerbiall rule of the Dutch, that men muſt *Leuen ende Laeten Leuen*: So liue as other men may Liue by them. But here I

Cod. 4. 59.

cannot but discharge all those *Corporations* of this *Kingdome*, of this part of *Monopoly*, which afford to euery particuler Trader thereof, the managing of his owne stocke, in buying and selling as hee can, without any combination with others. In which it is as impossible as vnusuall, for any to haue command of the price of their *Commodities*: becauſe there is such a multitude of Traders of thē; and euery man is at liberty to buy or sell, without any rule by any generall order, or meanes to hold one price. But the greatest suspition of *Monopoly* in *Corporations*, is in such as Trade in *Ioint stockes*. Whereof if there be any that tradeth in a *Ioint stocke*, and hath the *Sole* buying or selling of any *Commodity*, and buy and sell the same *Iointly*, as by one person or common factor, such is guilty of *Monopoly*.

For

For *particuler men*, they may alſo commit *Monopolizing*: either by procuring *Patents* by miſinformation of the *State*, for the *Sole Importing* or *Exporting*, buying or ſelling at their owne priſes, to the reſtraint of the *Common Libertie*, and the *Publique Vtility* of the *Kingdome*: or elſe when ſome one or few, without any Authoritie, doe ioine together to engroſſe and buy in a Commodity, and ſell it out againe at their owne price. Of the former kinde, are thoſe *Catalogues* of crying *Monopolies*, which HIS *Maieſtie* in HIS *High Wiſedome and Grace* damned in HIS *Princely Proclamation* of the tenth of *Iuly* laſt, in the xix. yeare of HIS *Maieſties moſt happy Reigne ouer this Kingdome*: Many of which were abuſed in the *Practiſe*, from that which they appeared to be in the *Inſtitution*. And here a pretty queſtion occurreth. When a

Patent is granted to a certaine perſon or perſons, ſo as he or they haue power to licence others to exerciſe ſome kinde of *Commerce* ſolely, and conſequently with command of the price: the queſtion is, who is then the *Monopolian*, whether the *Patentees*, or their *Aſſignes*? In this caſe I ſuppoſe, that both the one and the other commit *Monopoly*. For firſt, the *Patentees* make their price at their pleaſure vpon their *Aſſignes*, and they againe vpon the *ſubiects*. So that here is *Monopoly* vpon *Monopoly*: like your *Salt* vpon *Salt*, *Intereſt* vpon *Intereſt*, or the *Decompoſitum* in *Grammer*.

In the latter, ſome ſorts of Tradeſ-men in *London*, are ſaid to offend. Which being matters of Generall note, and willing to auoid offence, I will paſſe by ſuch particulars. And this ſhall ſuffice for the *Definition* and *Diſtribution* of *Monopoly*.

Cap.

CAP. IIII.

Of want of Gouernment in Trade.

SVch is the *Forme of Trade* considered in the *Strict Vse* or *Abuse* of *Gouernment*, by way of *Monopoly*. It now remaineth briefely to shew the *Too Loose Vse* thereof, by *Vngouerned Trade*.

It is a *Maxime* in the *Mathematiques*, that *Rectum est Index sui & obliqui*. And the want of *Gouernment*, cannot better be demonstrated, then by the benefit of *Gouernment* it selfe. For thereby the *Common-wealth* hath beene much aduantaged, both in the encrease of the natiue Commodities of the *Kingdome*, and the aduancement of their vse and price in *Forreine parts*: and also in keeping the forreine

reine wares at a moderate rate within this *Kingdome*. This will be yet more perſpicuous, if we caſt our eye firſt vpon the ſeueral *Societies of Merchants* which trade *vnder Gouernment*: and then on thoſe which trade *without Gouernment*. For *Contraria iuxta ſe poſita, magis elucescunt*.

The Merchants-Aduenturers.

In the firſt place therefore conſider we that *Ancient* and heretofore *Famous fellowſhip* of the *Merchants Aduenturers of England*. Hath it not by their politique rule and order, eaten out the *Societie* of the *Hans-townes* of *Germanie* and the *Merchants* of the *Entercourſe* of the *Low Countries*, in thoſe trades, which a long time they enioyed in this land? And whereas thoſe of the *Hans*, vented in *Germany*, only a matter of *ſixe thouſand* of our Clothes yeerely and at low priſes: and held this *Realme* as it were beholding vnto them for their ſhipping

ping: yea vpon ſome diſcontent for denying of them priuiledges, durſt offer ſome hoſtilitie in the time of *Edward* the fourth. Whereas the *Merchants-Aduenturers* by their *Charters*, granted from time to time by the *Princes of this Realme*, and fauoured by *Parliaments* ſucceſſiuely; by their orderly mannaging of their trade, haue ſupplanted the trade of the *Hanſes* in *Germany*: and brought the ſaid *Sixe thouſand* vented by them in *Germany*, vnto *Thirtie thouſand* Clothes yeerely & at great priſes. And it is worthy to be remẽbred to their *Honour*, that ſeruice which the *Merchants-Aducnturers* did to the *State* in *Anno* 88. when they ſupplied the *Nauie Royall* with a whole ſhips lading of *Powder and Shot* from *Hamburgh*: which came luckily euen *in articulo temporis*, when there was a very great want thereof. Theſe alſo haue from time

time to time employed and bred vp many worthy Masters of ships and Mariners: and built many Tall, warlike and Seruiceable shippes: which as they themselues also, are at all times ready to doe seruice to the KING & STATE vpon all occasions. None of all which they had euer beene able to haue done as particular men, in a loose, distracted, and disorderly trade.

The East-India Company.

Great benefit also hath arisen from the *East-land Company*: who haue wonne like ground of the *Hanses* of the *Baltique Sea*: and do employ in that trade a great number of proper *Shippes* and *Men*.

The Muscouy Company.

The *Muscouy Company* also by the benefit of *Gouernment*, besides their imployment of many proper Ships and Men, hath discouered the passage by the *North-Cape*, as also of *Greenland*: and done many other seruices to the *State*: which as particuler men, they could neuer haue performed. The

The *Leuant Company* likewiſe by their trade vnder *Gouernment*, hath built a great ſtrength of warlike, Tall & Luſty Shipping, which they employ in that trade: and by their induſtry haue wonne from the *Italians* the trade of the *Leuant*: the *Commodities* whereof were before brought into this *Realme* by *Argoſies* to the encreaſe of *Forreine ſhipping*, and at *Deare* rates: and is now reduced to the *Natiues* of this *Kingdome*, to the encreaſe of *Shipping*, and the benefit of the *Publike*. Which without *Gouernment* and good order, had been impoſſible for them to haue done.

The Leuant Company.

The *French Company* alſo, though but lately reduced to *Order*, hath reformed many abuſes in that trade, in maintaining the *Natiue Commodities* of this *Kingdome* in much better eſtimation, and in keeping the *Forreine* at moderate prices: and in employing greater ſhipping,

The French Company.

shipping, then at any time before. Which were impossible for them to effect *singly*, without *Societie*.

The East-India Company.

Lastly, for the *East-India Company*, whereof I am preuented to say what I might, by two seuerall discourses published in print, the one by that worthy & rarely qualified Gentleman S^r. *Dudley Digges* Knight; the other by that discreete *Merchant* M. *Thomas Mun*: yet this I say, that this *Great and Noble Societie* by the benefite of *Gouernment*, hath set on foot a very *Mightie Trade*, farre beyond any other *Company* of this *Kingdome*: and accordingly hath excelled in *Greatnesse of shipping*, and making *Mariners of land-men*, beyond the example of any other Corporation: and had not *Enuy* thought that *Trade* too great a *Treasure* for this *Kingdome*, doubtlesse they had in *Encrease of Trade*, excelled all the *Companies* of *Merchants* in this *Common wealth*.

But

The obiection, answered, that the Merchants of other countries trade without gouernment, which is examined by a particular enumeration of diuers Countries.

But here the ordinary obiection encountereth me, that in *Germany*, *Spaine*, *France*, *Italie*, and the *Netherlands*, there are no such *Companies*, nor *Restraint of Merchants*, as here in *England*: and yet that those *Countries* thriue better in their Trades, then we in ours. I answer, that if it be granted, that they haue no such *Companies* nor *Restraints* of any, and that they thriue better in their trades then we; yet it will not follow, that this their better thriuing is because euery man is at libertie to be a *Merchant* at his pleasure. This is the *Fallacy* which the *Logicians* call Τὸ μὴ αἴτιον ὡς αἴτιον, *Non causa pro causa.* For if that were the cause, why then should not our *Spanish Trade*, that hath no *Company* nor *Restraint*, prosper better thē the other Trades which are *Gouerned in Companies*? whereas to speak as the truth is, *This* Trade & *These Merchants*, are the most miserable of

of all the other *Trades* and *Trades-men* of this *Kingdome*, and all through want of *Gouernment*: thorough whose sides the *Common-wealth* suffereth, and hath already lost many Millions in value of the *Wealth* of the *Weale-publique*, as I shall shew anon. But to the *Assumption*. I deny that the *Merchāts* of those *Forreine Countries*, trade without *Gouernment*. For *Germany* hath anciently had one *Society*, or *Corporation* of *Merchants* in all their *Sea-townes*, called the *Society* of the *Hans*, before noted: as their houses of *Staple*, yet standing at *Bridges* in *Flanders*, *Antwerpe* in *Brabant*, *Nouogrode* in *Russia*, *Bergen* in *Norwaye*, and the *Steelyard* in *London* can witnes. Which trade of theirs flourished, as long as it continued vnder *Gouernment*: but hauing lost their *priuiledges*, partly by their own *Stragling*, and partly being ouertop't by the flourishing

As first Germany.

of

of the *Merchants Aduenturers Trade*, their Trade is now almoſt quite fallen to the ground.

Spaine and Portugall.

For *Spaine* and *Portugall*: all men know that their *Sea Trade* is little, ſauing to the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*. And thoſe Trades are carryed with *Gouernement*, and farre more reſtraint then ours.

France.

For *France*, there are not (that I know) any *Companies* of *Merchants* for forreine parts. Which I take to bee the cauſe, why thoſe Merchants ſhipping, is of ſo ſmall burthen, and of as little ſufficiency for ſeruice. Which is an effect of a ſtragling vngouerned Trade.

Italy.

For *Italy*, that conſiſteth of ſo many ſeuerall *Iuriſdictions*, that it were impoſſible to make a generall *Corporation* for any one kinde of *Sea-trade*. For example, were it not in vaine for *Genoa* to make a *Corporation* & *Orders* for Trade, whileſt *Florence* held a contrary courſe? It

were certainly all one, as to haue a *Company* of Merchants for *Spaine* at *London*, and the *West-parts* left loose to Trade without *Order* or *Gouernment*, which were a meere mockery. But the Trade in many parts of *Italy*, being carried by *Families*, and euery *Family* being as it were one Person, there is a kind of *Gouernment* in their Trades, and the same performed with merueilous credite, policie, and iudgement.

The Netherlands.

The *Low Countries*, by that *Vnion* which is of the seuerall *Townes and Prouinces* vnder the *States Generall* (which neuertheless is as much, and endureth as long, as euery seuerall *Prouince and Towne* listeth,) haue of late yeeres erected their *East India Company*, and the like for *Guiny*, and are in hand with the like for the *West Indies*. Also the *Cloth-buyers*, the principall *Merchants of Holland*, haue lately obtained

obtained *Octroy* ſo termed, which is *Priuiledges & Immunities* of the *States*, to aſſemble themſelues, and to keepe Courts, and make Orders for their Trade; and principally to confront & oppoſe the *Merchants-Aduenturers* Trade, vpon ſome differences, lately fallen out betwixt thoſe *Cloth-buyers* and the ſaid *Company* about the *reſidence* before noted. For their other Trades of *Germany*, *Poland*, *England*, *France* and *Spaine*, they rather wiſh then finde it poſſible, to ioine the ſeuerall *Townes* in one Rule and Order. And who ſo conuerſeth with that *Nation*, ſhall find that they very much complaine of the diſorders of their Trades, for want of that kinde of *Goucrnment*, which many of them take notice of here in *England*: and ſome of them of late haue deſired inſtructions from hence in that behalfe. Beſides all this, theſe people as

they are borne and bred in an *Vnited Country*, ſo doth their nature and diſpoſition encline much to an *Vnion* and *Communion* in Trade. Inſomuch as oftentimes they are able to worke their feates by *Confederacy* and *Combination*, againſt an *Incorporation* in our *Nation*. For they wiſely conſider, that their intereſt is inuolued in the *Publique*: where, in our *Nation*, men commonly preferre their *Particular*, to the *Common-good*.

And thus hauing anſwered the obiections againſt *Corporations*, of *Merchants* and *Gouerned Trades*, and ſhewed the many and manifold benefits ariſing to the *Common-wealth* thereby: It is now eaſie to ſhew the Iniury and Inconuenience to this *Common-wealth* by the want of *Gouernment in Trade*. Thoſe that Trade without *Order* and *Gouernment*, are like vnto men, that make *Holes* in the bottome of that

that *Ship*, wherein themſelues are *Paſſengers*. For want of *Gouernment* in Trade, openeth a gap and letteth in all ſorts of vnskilfull and diſorderly perſons: and theſe not only *Sinke* themſelues and others with them; but alſo *Marre* the Merchandize of the land, both in eſtimation and goodneſſe: then which there can bee nothing in Trade more preiudiciall to the *Publique Vtility*. And to make good theſe particulers, I take this for a ground: *Nemonaſcitur artifex*. Which as it is true in the occupations of *Artizans*: ſo is it much more true in the *Trades* of *Merchants*: wherein there is ſo great variety of difficult points to bee learned, before a man can learne his *Stucke*, as the Dutch-men ſpeak, or be his *Crafts maſter*. And how can the *Merchant*, that hath no skill in his Commodity, looke to it, that the Maker performe his

part? Or how can a falſified Commodity, hold his eſtimation and vſe? The ill experience whereof, is not more remarqueable in any of HIS *Maieſties* ſubiects, then in thoſe that trade into the *Dominions* of the *King* of *Spaine*, without *Order* or *Gouernment* in Trade. For at the beginning of HIS *Maieſties* moſt happy Raigne ouer this *Kingdome*, this Trade by HIS *Maieſties Princely fauour*, was made a *Corporation* and *Societie* of *Merchants*, and flouriſhed vnder *Gouernment*. And then the new *Draperies*, and other the *Natiue Commodities* of the *Kingdome* were maintained in their eſtimation and goodneſſe at *Home and Abroad*: But ſoone after by the clamour of ſome who preferred their owne liberty, to the vtility of the publique, and by ſome miſinformation giuen the *Parliament* of that time, this *Company* after it had flouriſhed

two

two yeares, was dissolued, and euer since exposed to confusion and disorder in Trade, and is become a receptacle and *Rendes-vous* for euery Shopkeeper, Stragler, and Vnskilful person: and may serue for a liuely representation of the hopes that may be expected, by such a loose trade, as many now a daies so much desire, not rightly conceiuing or considering the benefit of *Gouernment*, nor the Inconueniencies that doe perpetually accompany trade in the want thereof. Which in the *Effects* will be more *Perspicuous*, to which in their Order we now proceede.

CAP. V.

Of the Effects of the former Causes as they concerne the KING.

SVCH were the *Causes* considered in the *Matter* and *Forme* of

trade. The *Effects* follow: which doe either concerne the KING, or the *Common-wealth*.

Such as are the *Causes*, such also must needs be the *Effects* arising from the same: and those doe either respect *the* KING in point of *Honour*, or in point *of Reuenue*: and both in the *Matter* and *Forme* of Trade.

Effects to the King in point of Honour.

In point of *Honour*, there is a relation to the KING from the *Matter* of Trade, considered *Generally*, or *Specially*.

Generally, in the generall neglect of all trades, by temerous, rash, and litigious suites of law: whereby the *Peace* of the *Kingdome* is disturbed, the *Iustice* thereof abused, and in both the KING dishonoured.

Or *Specially* in some speciall *Commerce* of this *Kingdome*, abused by *the* KINGS Subiects, or Strangers. By *the* KINGS Subiects, in the *Drapery* of the *Kingdome*, when

HIS

HIS *Maieſties Seale of Armes*, which, as I ſaid, is, *Teſtis omni exceptione maior*, ſhall be diſhonoured by falſe Cloth and other Manufactures, that are vnworthily honoured therewith: and whereby, thoſe that buy the ſame both *within* and *without* the Land, are perſwaded the ſame is good and true, when the ſame is vtterly falſe: which is a great indignity offered to the KING.

By *Strangers*, in the *Eaſt India Action*, and the matter of *Fiſhing*. In the *Eaſt India Action* certainely the KINGS *Honour* is intereſſed; not onely to protect his ſubiects againſt the Iniuries done them by the *Dutch* in the *Eaſt Indies*; but alſo to maintaine the *Glory and Renowne*, *of* HIS *Sacred Fame*, which hath heretofore beene *Illuſtrious* euen vnto the *Heathen*: which ſome haue dared to doe what they could to obſcure. The

Fiſhing

Fishing hath also reference to *the* KINGS *Honour*: for it is a *Royalty* of the *Crowne*, which the KING in Honour cannot but protect.

There is also an *Effect* that extendeth it selfe to the KINGS *Honour* in the *Forme* of Trade, as it is *too strict*, or *too loose*. *Too strict*, in respect of *Monopolies*, wherein the *Prerogatiue of the* KING is abused, and therein HIS *Honour* also, by those that thereby seeke to priuiledge and Patronize things vnlawfull.

Too loose, in the disorderly Trade of the subiects out of *Gouernment*. For those *Strangers* that haue not beene in our *Countrey*, nor seene the Order of HIS *Maiesties Gouernment*, must needes *Ex vngue Leonem*, guesse at the *Soueraigne* by the *Subiect*: And like to *Archimedes* who drew the whole pourtraiture of *Hercules* body, by his footstep onely found in

Mount

Mount *Olympus*, proportion the *Royall and Regall Gouernment of* HIS *Maieſtie At home*, by the deportment of his ſubiects *Abroad*. And as the Orderly Trade of *Merchants* is an *Honour to the* KING, when the ſame is contained within the liſtes of *Gouernment*; ſo the contrary cannot chooſe but produce a quite contrary effect.

In point of *Reuenue* the KINGS treaſure is diminiſhed, in the *Matter* alſo and *Forme* of Trade. In the *Matter* of Trade, eyther in the *General* courſe of Trade, or in ſome *Particulers*. In the *Generall*, the great want of money, and decay of Trade throughout all callings and conditions of men, muſt needes cauſe a great diminution of HIS *Maieſties Reuenue*, both in HIS *Cuſtomes* and *Supplies*. For the *Cuſtomes*, thoſe perpetually riſe and fall with Trade: And for *Supplies*, the ſubiects beeing impouerished

In point of Reuenue.

shed through want of Money and decay of Trade, are disabled to doe that seruice to HIS *Maiesty*, which otherwise they would be willing, and heretofore haue beene able to performe, in flourishing times of Trade, And if our experience hereof had beene in the θεωρία and not in the ἐνέργεια, in the *Contemplation* only, and not in *Action*: we had been much more happy in this *Kingdom* and *Nation*.

In the *particuler* course of Trade, it shall content me to instance onely the *East India Action*, and the *Fishing*, before referred to the KINGS *Honour*, here to HIS *Reuenue*. By the *East India Action* there is a very great losse to *the* KING in HIS *Customes*, by the losse of all the *Custome* which that Trade would haue produced in all this time: and of the *Encrease* also of *Trade*, which that employment had brought with it, which would haue

haue yeelded to HIS *Maiesty* a great *Increase* of *Customes* answerable to the same. Of both which if we had not beene depriued, certainely HIS *Maiesties Ferme of* HIS *Customes* had yeelded *Many Thousand pounds a yeare*, more then now they haue done.

By the *Fishing*, the *Customes and Tolles* which are vndoubtedly due to HIS *Maiestie* for the Strangers *Fishing* vpon our *Coasts*, together with the encrease of Trade, and consequently of *Customes* thereby also, wold amount to so great a value, that I cannot wonder enough, that the same hath beene neglected all this while.

And lastly in the *Forme* of Trade, *the* KINGS *Reuenue* is mightily diminished, when by the disorder of Trade, the very course of Trade is inuerted, and therein the KINGS *Customes* and *Subsidies also*.

CAP.

CAP. VI.

Of the Effects of the former Causes as they concerne the Common-wealth.

FRom *the* KING, come to the *Kingdome*. Wherein there are also manifold *Effects* of the precedent *Causes*, both in the *Matter* and *Forme* of *Trade*.

And although in the very same things, wherein the *Honour* and *Reuenue* of *the* KING are inuested, the *Wealth* of the *Common-wealth* is also interessed; yet the same may otherwise be distinguished, that so they may bee made the more perspicuous and cleere to euery mans iudgement.

Effects to the Common-wealth Actiue and Passiue.

The *Effects* then that arise out of the *Matter* of *Trade* and fall vpon

on the *Kingdome*, may be ſaide to be either *Actiue* or *Paſſiue*. *Actiue*, when they are done by *Our Selues*: *Paſſiue*, when they are done to vs by *others*. *Actiue*, in the vſe of *Law*, either *Too much*, or *Too little*. *Too much*, in *Suits of Law*, whereby one ſubiect vexeth another: which make this peaceable *Kingdome* ſeeme to be at Warre within it ſelfe. For whileſt men are thus at *Deadly Feude* in Law, by the loſſe of their Times, and Trades, and States; the thrift of the *Common-wealth* muſt needes bee neglected. *Too little*, In the *Non-Execution* of *Lawes*, which tend either to the enlargement of *Clothing*, or the reſtraint of the Exceſſe of the *Kingdome*. The *Former* is, either in reſpect of the *Ill ſearching* and *Sealing* of Cloth, or in the *Tranſportation* of the *Materials* of our Cloth before mentioned. In the *former* of theſe, the *Merchants Aduenturers* can

can giue you an account of *Tenne thousand pounds* a yeare at leaſt loſſe to this *Commō-wealth*, by the *Tare* or abatements vpon the Cloath in forreine parts, for the falſe making and ſealing thereof: Beſides the other *Effects* of the decay of the *Drapery* it ſelfe, and other Trades depending thereon, the loſſe whereof is vnualuable. In the *Latter*, euery man is ſenſible of the loſſe to the *Commonwealth*, in robbing it of the *Materials*: whereby not onely our *Draperies* are *Impaired*, but the *Forreine* alſo are thereby much *Improued*.

Alſo the want of reſtraint of the *Exceſſe* of the *Kingdome*, in *Vſury* and *Prodigality*: the one beeing a *Viper* in a *Kingdome* that gnaweth through the bowels thereof: the other a *Canker* that fretteth and waſteth the ſtocke, in ſpending the forreine wares, more then it venteth

teth of our owne: both and either do produce intollerable effects in a wel ordered *Kingdome* and Common-wealth.

Or *Passiue*, in the ill *Effects* that fall vpon the *Kingdome*, in things done to vs by *Others*. And that either by *Friends* or *Foes*. *The Former* is done by *Imposition*, or *Vsurpation*. By *Imposition*, in the *Merchants Aduenturers* Trade in *Holland*: where there is lately taxed vpon a Pack Cloth 9. *Gilders*; vpon a long Cloth 18. *Gilders*, and vpon a fine Cloth 24. *Gilders*, which is 18. 36. and 48. shillings of our money. And yet neuertheleſſe they free their owne Countrey Cloth of all manner of charge; nay, they giue encouragement to the makers thereof by many *Priuiledges and Immunities*: whereby it is more then manifeſt that they do what in them lyeth, to *Plant* their owne *Draperies*, and to *Supplant*

ours, to the infinite disaduantage of this *Kingdome*.

By *Vsurpation*, those Friends of ours, depriue vs of our *East India Trade*, and *Fishing*, which here againe occurre, and offer themselues for this purpose also. By *the Former*, the *Common-wealth* hath not onely beene dispossest all this while of so great a Stocke, as is that of the *East India Company*, but of the employment & encrease of Trade also, that thereby in all this time would haue accrewed vnto this *Kingdome*. And it is to be feared, that their policy is not onely to depriue the *Company* of their *Stocke*, but the *Kingdome* also of the *Trade*: which they thinke too great and glorious a *Fortune* for this *Common-wealth* to enioy, and the onely hope of their's. And hence it is that the *Restitution* is so hard to be had, because they think by detaining it, and spinning out the

the time, they ſhall in time *Weary* and *Weare* vs out of that Trade: And ſo in the meane while, by *Plowing* vp thoſe *Indian Seas and Soyle* with our *Heifers*, they may at laſt *Reape* all the *Haruest*, and poſſeſſe and diſpoſſeſſe at their owne pleaſure, to the wonderfull enriching of their *Common-wealth*, and the impouериſhing of *our's*.

By *the latter*, to wit, their *Fiſhing vpon our Coaſts*, the *Common-wealth* looſeth that which they gaine: which is merueilous increaſe of *Trade*, of *Shippes*, and *Marriners*. Whereby their *Nauigation* is mightily *Strengthened*, their *Marriners multiplyed*, and their *Trade* encreaſed: Of all which this *Common-wealth* is depriued, and *their's* enriched.

By *Foes* alſo this *Common-wealth* is lamentably *Paſſiue*, in the *Cruelty* done by *Turkiſh Pirats* vpon our *Men* and *Ships*, and *Goods*.

The griefe is lamentable, the losse intollerable.

Lastly, there are ill Effects that fal vpon the *Common-wealth* in the *Forme of Trade*: and that in respect of *Monopolies*, or *Vngouerned Trade*. By *the Former*, this *Common-wealth* is depriued of that true liberty of Trade, which belongeth to all the subiects: when the Commodity of some few, is preferred to the publique good.

By *the Latter*, which is most remarqueable in the Trade of HIS *Maiesties* subiects into the Dominions of the *King* of *Spaine*, and the *Mediterrane* Sea; the Trade of this *Kingdome* consisting in *Bayes*, *Perpetuanoes*, *Kersies*, *Waxe*, *Tinne*, *Lead*, and other the *Natiue Commodities* of this *Kingdome*, is betrayed into the hands, both of those with whom we are in *Amitie*, and others that are with vs in *Enmity*. The one taketh aduantage of our vn-

merchant-

merchant-like courſes for lacke of *Order*: The other, of our Shippes ſent foorth ſtragling for lacke of *Fleets*: and both through want of *Gouernment in Trade*. Whereby the *Perpetuanoes* and other *new Draperies* haue by little and little bin made worſe and worſe, ſo that now they are become quite out of vſe, the *Trade loſt*, the *Traders ruinated*, the *Manufactures by other Nations ſupplied*, the *Nauigation hindered*, by the loſſe of many *worthy men*, and *Seruiceable Shippes*: In all which, the *Decay of Trade* is exceeding *Great*, the *Commonwealth's* loſſe *Infinite*.

CAP. VII.

Of the Remedy for all the former Causes of decay of Trade.

HAuing shewed the many and manifold *Causes* of the decay of Trade in the *Matter* and *Forme* thereof: It remaineth now to present the *Remedy*. Which according to the precedent Method, I will apply vnto all the particulers in their order. Onely the *Remedies* for the *Effects*, I shall present in the *Causes*: for the *Causes* being remoued, the *Effects* must needs cease, according to the common *Maxime* in *Philosophy*, *Sublatâ causâ tollitur effectus*.

In my former distribution I considered the *Causes* of the decay of Trade, in the *Matter* and *Forme* thereof: and in the *Matter* I insisted on *Money and Merchandize*. The *Causes* of the want of money, I shewed some to be *Immediate*; some

ſome *Mediat* or remote. The *Immediat* Cauſes, I noted to be ſuch, as either hinder the *Importation*; or ſuch as cauſe the *Exportation*; and both in the *Vnder-valuation* of HIS *Maieſties* Coine. The *Remedy* offer's it ſelfe, which is double. Firſt, how it may be got: and next how it may be kept. *The former* may be done two wayes: By Raiſing of the KINGS Coine; and by making current *Forreine Coines* at equall value. Wherin it is to be obſerued, that the more the *Coynage* is abated, the leſſe the *Coyne* it ſelfe need to be raiſed. *The latter*, to wit, the keeping of *Money* within the land, may alſo be done 2. waies: By another maner of Execution of the Statute for Employments then heretofore: wherein there is ſome reaſon not to expreſſe my ſelfe as I might: And by HIS *Maieſties Princely and Prudent Negotiation*, with the *Princes* of our *Neigh-*

The Remedy of drawing money into the Kingdome, muſt needs be the raiſing therof.

And by making forreine Coines currant at like value.

bour Countries, the *States* of the vnited *Prouinces* especially, to keepe a more constant course in the values of their Coines. Neither of which can be done by that *Par* of Exchange, which is now againe in agitation, and hath taken more then twenty yeeres to bring it to perfection. Wherein, *absit inuidia verbo*, that I say, there is neither *Parity*, nor *Purity*. For it is not the rate of Exchanges, but the value of monies, here lowe, elsewhere high, which cause their Exportation: nor doe the Exchanges, but the plenty or scarcity of monies cause their values. Or if I should grant that to be the cause which is not: yet it doth not follow, that because the Stranger, like enough, would be a deliuerer heere of money at a high rate, that therefore the English must take it. And then the consequence will be ill: for if the rate be such as the *Taker* like not, then

then the *Deliuerer* is yet more thrust vpon the exportation. But I leaue this Proiect to whom it is committed, with this, that his opinion seemes to be *eiusdem farinæ*, with another of the same, in his *Canker of Englands Commonwealth*, in these words: *And it were to be wished, that our Cloth were sold at so deare a rate, and according to the price of forreine Commodities, that thereby other nations would take vpon them to make our Clothes themselues: which might easily bee remedied, by selling our woolles the dearer, whereof they must make them.* Which seemes to haue in it much more *Dutch* then *English*, to depriue this *Kingdome* of so Royall a Manufacture, whereby so many thousands of poore families, are maintained in the same: as if hee would cure one Canker with another, contrary to our *Sauiours Argument*, that Satan cannot cast out Satan.

Canker of Englands Commonwealth. p. 46. published in *An.* 1601.

Satan. But I returne to mine owne *Station*: and therein to answer the obiections that doe occurre the raising of *Money*: which are wont to be principally, either the continuall *Raising* of it, to follow the *Rising* of forreine Coine; or else the ineuitable losse that thereby will fall, *Generally* vpon all men in the endearing of all things; and *Particulerly* vpon *Landlords* and *Creditors*, in their rents and contracts.

The obiections against raising of money, answered.

For the continuall *Raising* of the Coine, that will be needlesse, if the meanes be sufficient for executing the *Statute* for *employments*, whereby the *Money* may be kept within the land when we haue it. And for the deareneſſe of things, which the *Raising* of *Money* bringeth with it, that will be abundantly recompensed vnto all in the plenty of *Money*, and quickning of Trade in euery mans hand. And that which is equall to all, when hee that buye's deare

deare ſhall ſell deare, cannot bee ſaid to be iniurious vnto any. And it is much better for the *Kingdome*, to haue things deare with plenty of *Money*, whereby men may liue in their ſeuerall callings: then to haue things cheape with want of *Money*, which now makes euery man complaine.

Laſtly, for *Landlords and Creditors*, their loſſe is eaſie to be preuented by *Prouiſo*, that the *Contracts* made before the raiſing of the *Monies* ſhall be paide at the value the *Money* went at, when the *Contracts* were made: according to the diſpoſition of the *Ciuill Law* in this caſe: *Valor monetæ conſiderandus & inſpiciendus eſt à tempore contractus, non autem à tempore ſolutionis.*

Gailius 2. lib. Obſeruat. cap. 73.

The raiſing alſo of the *Coine*, would raiſe the price of *Plate*: whereby either there would be leſſe ſuperfluity that way, or elſe more

more old *Plate*, which perhaps in ſome mens hands is kept vp for *Treaſure*, would be brought out, to be molten into *Coine*.

The *Mediate* or Remote *Cauſes* of the want of *Money*, I obſerued to bee either *Domeſtique or Forreine*. The *Domeſtique*, *Generall or Speciall*. The *Generall*, the great *Exceſſe* of the *Kingdome*, in conſuming the Commodities of forreine Countries in ſuch abundance, to our owne loſſe. And amongſt thoſe, the great exceſſe in *Tobacco* is none of the leaſt: which if it might ſeeme good to the High Wiſedome of HIS *Maieſtie*, to reſtraine, or at leaſt to giue a tolleration of the *Virginia* and *Barmudo's* only: there might be a great deale of *Pietie* and *Policy* ſhewed in this *Remedy* For in the one reſpect, it would tend to a great enriching of that plantation, which ſo happily ſucceedeth through Gods bleſſing:

A Remedy for exceſſe.

and

and in the other it would aduantage the KING and the *Kingdome*, in the redreſſe of the diſorder of the *Spaniſh Trade*, and in bringing in *Treaſure* in ſtead of that *Toye*, more then the Rent that is now raiſed to HIS *Maieſtie* for the ſame,

The Superfluity of other Commodities may bee reſtrained by lawes *Veſtiary* and *Sumptuary*, according to the example of *Germany* & other our Neighbor Countries.

A Remedy for want of Money in the remote cauſe thereof.

The *Speciall Remote Cauſe* of our want of *Money*, I noted to bee the want of our *Eaſt India Stocke* in the *Common-wealth*. The *Remedy* wherof, is in the *Princely Power and Gratious Fauour* of HIS *Maieſtie* to apply at HIS pleaſure, to this Languiſhing body. And if HIS *Sacred Maieſtie* will vouchſafe to apply HIS Gratious *Mouth*, to *this Mouth*: HIS waking *Eye*, to *this Eye*: HIS powerfull *Hand* to *this Hand*: then ſurely this fainted

Body

Body will receiue *Breath* and *Life*, from the powerfull influence of so *Great a Maiestie*, and reuiue also the many other *fainting* Trades, that are *fallen* in it. The *Forreine Remote Causes*, I obserued to be the *Warres in Christendome*, or the *Trades* maintained with ready *Money Out of Christendome*. The former, either cause the *Exportation* of *Money*, as do the *Warres* of *Christians*: or hinder the *Importation* thereof, as doe the *Warres* of *Pirats*. A *Remedy* in the former of these I know none, besides that blessed disposition in HIS *Maiesty* to spare no *Cost* to make *Peace*: which hath made HIS *Fame* shine as farre as the Sunne shineth, and shall last as long as the Sunne and Moone endureth: and as sure as the Lord is faithfull, will be remembred on HIS *Posterity* for euer: Besides this, I say, I know none, but *Patience* and *Prayer*: that *God* would

A Remedy of the Warres of Christians.

would auert the heauy Iudgments at this day on the Christian world, and giue vs grace to consider *Our peace*, in this *Our day* thereof. A *Remedy* in the latter, may be either by reducing of the stragling trade of HIS *Maiesties* subiects into the Dominions of the *King of Spaine*, into *Gouernment*; whereby they also might goe in Fleetes, as other gouerned Companies doe, and the better defend themselues against so *Common* and *Cruel* an enimy: or else by seeking restitution of our wrongs in this kinde, where it may be had: so farre as it may concurre with the *Honour* of the KING, to whose Great and Princely iudgement, I submit the same.

A Remedy of disorderly Trade.

The Remedy for the *Exportation of Money* out of *Christendome* by the Trades before mentioned, dependeth much on the good Conclusion hoped for, betweene the *Dutch* and our *Nation*. Whereby not

A Remedy for the exportation of Money out of Christendome.

not only the *Indian Commodities*, which in those Trades are the principall, may be bought much better cheape, and consequently spare a great deale of the *Treasure* now issued out for the same: but also, the *Natiue Commodities* of either Country, and as much as may bee of euery Country, may be brought into *Trade* and *Traine* with the *Indians*, and aduanced in their vse and price: that so at last in stead of Money for Wares, we may giue Wares for Wares according to the Law and nature of *Commerce*. And this good conclusion betweene the *Dutch* and *Vs*, is the rather to bee wished, and the more to be hastened, because the subtilty of the *Indians* is great, in taking aduantage of this vnhappy *Faction*, or rather *Fraction*, that is fallen betwixt vs. For those that haue trauelled the *Indies*, and obserued those people can tell, that the *Indians* doe

ascribe

aſcribe ſo much to the light of their vnderſtanding, that they doe account the reſt of the world blinde in Compariſon of them. Only they vouchſafe to the people of *Europe* this honour, to call them *One Eyed men.* Which alſo *Maffeius* taketh notice of, in his Hiſtory of the *Indies*, that thoſe people dare beyond modeſty thus to brag; *Chinenſes duos habere oculos; Europæus vnum; & quod hominum eſt reliquum, cæcutire. That the Chineſes haue two Eyes, the Europians one, and all the reſt of the people of the world are blinde.* And indeed they doe approoue themſelues to be *Quick-ſighted* enough: for they are the *Antipodes* of *Chriſtians*, and are in ſcituation fartheſt remote from them, and yet can finde the *Meanes*, to pry into the *Mines* and *Treaſure* of the Chriſtian world. And therefore I ſay, it is high time that the *Dutch* and *We* left *Darting*

Ioan. Petr. Maffeius Hiſt. Ind. lib. 6.

at one another, and so ioyne together, that as with one *Hand*, and one *Heart*, and if they will needs haue it so, *with that* one *Eye*, we may collect and contract out sharpest sence & sight into it; that as it is said, some *Monoculists*, by the sharpnesse of the sence drawne to one Eye, see better with that, then both: we may at last put this remedy in practise, that we seem no longer blind men, to those *Indian* people. But herein on both parts, are we humbly to implore HIS *Maiesties Regall Intercession*, that these differences, betwixt the *Dutch* and *Vs*, may no longer *Hang in suspense*, but at last be drawne to that happy and hopefull *Period* wee haue so long looked & longed for. That so the *Maiestie* of the KING, arising like the *Glory* of the *Sun-rising* vpon this our *Horizon*, may *dispell* and *disperse* al the tempestuous *Mists* and *Fogges*, that haue obscured

red the ſame; and lend ſuch a glorious *Light* and *Life* vnto this *Orbe* of ours, that *They* & *We*, like louers and friends fallen at oddes, may be redintegrated, renewed, and revnited, in vnfaigned *Amitie* and *Vnity*, that the name of *Hoſtility* betwixt *Them* and *Vs*, be neuer hereafter told in *Gath*, not publiſh't in the ſtreets of *Aſhcalon*: And that the Publike complaints aſwell of their * *Owne* people, as *Ours*, may no longer come vnder the view and cenſure of the world.

Another *Remedy* of this kinde, may bee HIS *Maieſties* gracious protection of the *Perſian Trade* now ſo happily ſet on foote: that ſo neyther the Enuy of any at Home; nor the *Power* or *Policy* of any abroad, ſupplant vs in the ſame. Whereby the *Cloth* and *Tinne*, and other the *Natiue Commodities* of this *Kingdome*, may be brought into *Vſe* and *Commerce* a-

mongſt

* In a Tranſlation out of a *Dutch* Copy lately publiſhed in *Holland* by the *Dutch* themſelues: in the face or Title whereof, theſe words are vſed: *That notwithſtanding the extreme wrongs done by the* MAIORS *to the Engliſh Nation, Trading to the Eaſt Indies; yet it is the Juſtice of God, they thriue not with it themſelues.* Printed 26. *Iune*, 1622.

Another Remedy of the former kind.

mongſt the *Perſians* alſo. Which through Gods bleſſing, and HIS *Maieſties Royal Aſsiſtance*, may be a means to draw the whole Trade of the *Perſian* ſilke into this *Kingdom*, and make it the *Magazin* thereof, for the ſupply of other Nations: to the weakning of the *Turks* power, the increaſe of Trade in this *Common-wealth*, and with it HIS *Maieſties* Cuſtomes, the Nauigation, & employment of the poore: to the Great Honour of the KING, and enriching of all HIS *Kingdomes*.

And ſo much for the *Remedies* about the *matter* of Trade in *Money*; the *Merchandize* followeth. Which I conſidered *Iointly*, or *Apart*. The things that hindred the whole Trade, I noted to be *Deficient*, as the *want of Money*, or the *Eaſt India Stocke*, which haue their *Remedy* before: or *Efficient*, as *Vſury* and *Litigious ſuits of law*, to the *Remedies* wherof we now proceede.

A Remedy for Vſury.

The *Remedy* for *Vſury*, may bee

plenty of *Money*. For then, men wil haue no ſuch cauſe to take *Money* at intereſt, as when *Money* is ſcant. For as it is the ſcarcitie of *Money* that maketh the high rates of intereſt: ſo the plenty of *Money* will make the rates low, better then any Statute for that purpoſe. For although in the *Netherlands*, it is lawfull for a man to take twenty in the hundred if hee can get it: (wherein it ſeemes the Author of the Tract againſt Vſury was miſinformed,) yet there, commonly money is let at 6. and 7. in the hundred, by reaſon of the plenty of Money.

Or there is another Remedy for Vſury, in giuing liberty to the ſubiects, if ſo it may ſeem good to HIS *Maieſties High Viſedome*, to buy and ſell, and to tranſport Billes of debt from man to man: according to the Cuſtome of *Germany* and the *Low Countries*. Which is found

Another Remedy for Vſury.

to be an excellent meanes to ſupply mens wants in courſe of trade; and tendeth alſo to the enlarging thereof. And for the *Extorſion* vpon the poore aboue noted: if a ſtocke of Money were rayſed in manner of a *Lumbard*, or otherwiſe in *London*, and in the *Countries* where much poore depend on Clothing, and elſe-where where there is cauſe, whereby the multitudes of poore wherewith the *Kingdom* ſwarmeth, might be from time to time ſupplied for a ſmall conſideration; it would certainly giue great encouragement to the poore to labour, it would ſet on worke many fatherleſſe children that are ready to ſterue, it would benefit the *Common wealth* by their labours; and it would be an acceptable worke to *Almighty God*, ſo to ſupply their wants, and not to ſuffer the faces of the poore to be ground by the extorſion of any.

A Remedy for extorſion.

And

And I am perſwaded, that euery good man would be willing, either to giue, or to lend, toward the raiſing of a ſtocke of *Money* for this purpoſe.

For *Litigious ſuits of Law*, if men beſtowed halfe that ſtudy and coſt in trade, which now adaies is ſpent in temerous and raſh ſuits of Law; ſurely the benefite that thence would ariſe to the *Common-wealth*, would equall or exceede in value, that which is ſpent in Law, which I thinke cannot bee valued. The *Remedy* requireth great conſideration, for ſuch is the Cauſe.

Remedies for litigious ſuits of Law.

That the *ſuites of Law* in this *Kingdome* are now infinitely increaſt, to that they were in elder times, I thinke it is out of queſtion: The *Quære* is about the cauſe thereof. *Litigious ſuits of Law*, may ſeeme anciently to haue beene reſtrained, either by *Sureties*, or *Fines* or both. *Of the Former* there is

yet a defaced print in the Common-Pledges of *Doe and Roe*. Which were of old the names of true and reall ſureties, but are now become formall only, and faigned names of Courſe and Solemnity. Whence alſo it is, that in ſtead of Reall ſureties in *London*, faigned ſureties are deuiſed from the dwelling of the party *Plaintife*: As for example: if the plaintife dwell in *Cheape-ſide*: they enter for his Sureties vpon the Record of Court, *John Cheape*, and *Richard Side*. And in like manner whereſoeuer elſe the *Plaintife* dwelleth.

Of the Latter, to wit of *Fines*, the vſe of them both in the *Kings-Bench*, & *Common-Pleas*, continueth vnto this day. *In the Kings-Bench* the *Fines* are not ſo ancient, for thoſe began in the 8. yeare of HIS *Maieſties* Happy raigne ouer this *Kingdome*: neither are they of like value to thoſe of the *Commō-Pleas*, Where-

Whereof HIS *Maiestie* made then a *Graunt* to certaine *Patentees* for terme of yeeres. But in the *Common-Pleas*, the *Fines* vpon *Originall Writs*, are held by the learned in the Law, to bee as ancient as the *Common-Law* it selfe.

Now whether the vse of *Sureties*, or the Institution of *Fines*, were inuented for the restraint of *Ligitious suits of Law*: or the Disuse and inequality of them, tendeth to the encrease thereof; I humbly leaue that, to the wisdome, and iudgement of the *Reuerend Iudges*, and others learned in the Law: least I seeme ὑπερφρονεῖν παρὸ ὃ δεῖ φρονεῖν. Neuertheless there seemes to me, to be a print of them, in the Lawes & Customes of *Forreine Nations*. For which, if you please, let vs heare MAIMON a great RABBI. HEBRÆI *litigiosum hominum genus*, saith he, *duplum rependere coegerunt, qui debitum scienter denegaret.*

מורה נבוכים
Maimon lib. 3.

Also

Bodin. de Rep. lib. 6.

Also FESTVS POMPEIVS, cited by BODIN. *Romani decimam partem eius rei, quæ in controuersiam veniret in priuatis, aut quintam in publicis iudicijs, imperabant. Ac licet Romani in Republica libera, Vectigalia & tributa imperare sibi difficilimè paterentur, Vectigalia tamen Iudiciaria patienter tulerunt.*

In Part. iurisDe Actionib.

Also HOTTOMAN. *Romani Sacramennum constituerunt, certam viz. pecuniæ summam, vt qui iudicio vicisset, suum sacramentum auferret, victi autem ad ærarium rediret.*

De Rep. lib. 6.

And lastly BODIN. *Carolus nonus Vectigal Iudiciarium ad cohibendam litigatorum hominum indomitam atque effrænatam licentiam imperauit. Quo vix vllum afflictis ærarij opibus vtilius, & Galliæ Imperio litium innumerabili multitudine oppresso, splendidius cogitari poterat.*

There is also in *France* an excellent

lent reſtraint of Law ſuits, by a *Law Merchant*, eſtabliſhed in *Roan*, *Lions*, and *Tholoſa*: whereby the other higher Courts of Iuſtice are eaſed of thoſe Knottie queſtions that often fall out in matters of *Commerce*, which are harder to bee determined by the learned in the Law, and not ſo hard for Merchants and men of Trade.

Like to which, is that of the *Court of Conſcience*, and the office for *Pollicies of Aſſurance* in London. The one granted by an Act of Parliament, in the 3. yeare of HIS *Maieſties* happie Raigne, the other by the Statute of 43. *Eliz.* And both are executed by *Merchants* and men of Trade: though in the latter the Statute ioineth certaine Ciuill and Common Lawyers with them in Commiſſion, to aſſiſt them when there is cauſe: becauſe ſuch Aſſurances are grounded on the Ciuill Law. By which

which meanes HIS *Maiesties* other Courts of Iustice are eased of the multiplicitie of Questions that might arise by suits of Law of this kinde.

And thus hauing beene bold to make this short Relation of my poore obseruation herein, I most humbly submit this *Remedy* to the High wisdome of HIS *Maiestie*, to dispose thereof in such Manner and Measure, as the Nature and Number of the suits of Law, at this day in this Kingdome doe require. In the restraint whereof, HIS *Maiestie* shall haue great *Honour*: HIS *Kingdome Peace*: the *Iudges Ease*: the *Subiects Quietnes*, and the *Common-wealth* increase of *Trade*.

Remedies for Ordinance.

The Trades considered *Apart*, I reduced to such, as tend to the *Fortification of the Kingdome*, or *Maintenance of Trade*. The former I noted to be *Ordinance* or *Munition*.

In

In which case the *Philosopher* giueth good Counsell, Δεῖ οὕτω φιλεῖν ὡς ὕστερον μισήσοντα, μισεῖν δὲ ὡς ὕστερον φιλήσοντα. *Sic amandum tanquam sis osurus, sic oportet odisse tanquam sis amaturus.* Bias.

The latter I reduced to *Fishing* and *Clothing*, as the *Nurseries* of Trade. For the *Fishing*, the infinite treasure that Strangers search out of our Seas, the varietie of Trade that thereby they purchase, the multitude of *Mariners* they breed, the Fleets of Shipping they maintaine, me thinkes should euery of them apart, or all of them together, be vnto vs as so many prouocations to rouze vs vp to the exercise thereof: Whereby His *Maiestie* might receiue such a Tolle or Custome of them, as other Princes doe in like case, and be once againe *Lord and Master* of the Seas, for all the dispute of the Author of *Mare liberum*: and the Natiue subiect encouraged by some Immunitie or Priuiledge,

The Remedy for Fishing.

Quæ non prosunt singula, multa iuvant. De remed.

Priuiledge, to lay hold on that benefit, which God and Nature hath brought home to our doores.

For the *Clothing*, that alſo is a point of *State* and *great conſequence*. The *Cauſes* of the decay whereof, I obſerued to bee either *Domeſtique* or *Forreine*. The *Domeſtique* ſome *Paſt*, ſome *Preſent*. In which former, it may perhaps ſeeme ſtrange, to ſpeake of a *Remedy* for a thing paſt. Wherein the beſt Remedy I can thinke of, is, to be warned by thoſe harmes, not to diſturbe or diſtract Trade vpon any ſuggeſtion, though neuer ſo ſpecious. It is a ſafe rule, that in *Rebus nouis conſtituendis euidens eſſe debet vtilitas*. And in *Proiects*, though they promiſe much, yet the vtility is commonly *Contingent*, which may be, or may not be. But in the mutation of the naturall courſe of Trade, there ought to be *Perſpicuity* and *Apparency* of

Euident

Euident Vtility: Elſe a *Breach* may be ſooner made in Trade then can be *repaired*: and the *Current* once *diuerted*, will hardly bee *reuolued*, into it genuine *Source* and *Courſe* againe.

The *preſent Domeſtique Cauſes* of the Decay of *Clothing*, I conſidered in the Trade vnder the *Clothier*, or vnder the *Merchant*. Vnder the *Clothier*, I noted the *Ill making* and *Falſe ſealing* of Cloth: and both through the *Non-execution* of the Statute of 4. of the KING. The abuſe wherof is growne to be very great, and the reformation hath beene by HIS *Maieſties* Proclamations and otherwiſe, ſo much and ſo oft attempted of late yeares, and nothing therein effected, that it ſeemeth a very difficult matter to reforme the ſame. Neuertheleſſe if it may pleaſe HIS *Maieſtie*, to commit the care of the execution of the Statute, to ſome of the Principall

The Remedy for Clothing.

The Remedy for Clothing.

cipall Cities and Townes in the Clothing Countries, where Broad Clothes, Kerſies, and Perpetuanoes are made; and to make them the *Ouerſeers* mentioned in the Statute, inſtead of thoſe ignorant and negligent *Searchers*, with reaſonable allowance for their paines; I am confident it would proue a ſinguler Remedy. For we haue not only the example of the *Low Countries*, where this courſe is taken, but alſo here with vs: as *Worceſter* for that ſort of Clothes, *Colcheſter* for Bayes, and *Canterbury* for Sayes. In all which places the former abuſes are remoued by this meanes, and the Clothes, and Bayes, and Manufactures of thoſe Cities, triumph in great credit and eſtimation. Which execution of the ſaid Statute, is the rather to be committed to the care and charge of the principall Cities and Townes in the Clothing Countries; becauſe by

Examples of *Worceſter*, *Colcheſter*, and *Canterbury*.

by ancient Statutes not repealed, all Clothes and Kerſies ought to bee brought to the next City, Borough, or Towne Corporate, to be ſealed, before they be put to ſale. And if ſuch Clothes ſo ſealed, proue defectiue, that Corporation or Townesſhip that ſo hath ſealed them, ſhall forfeit the whole value thereof.

4 & 5. P. & M. 5.

The reformation of which abuſe will redound to the benefit of the *Clothier*, as well as the *Merchant*. For none is more hurt with falſe Cloth, then that Clothier which maketh true Cloth: becauſe his markets are alwayes hurt by the cheapneſſe that falſe Cloth may be afforded at. Therefore to facilitate this Remedy, I haue made a collection of all the principall Cities and Townes in the Clothing Counties for this purpoſe, as by a liſt thereof, fixed to the end of this diſcourſe may appeare, that ſo a

worke of this nature bee no longer deferred, wherein the *Honour of the* KING, and the *Benefit* of the *Publique* are so much involued.

A Remedy for the exportation of Woolls.

Vnder the *Merchant* I obserued the Cloth-Trade to sniffer at *Home* and *Abroad*: At *Home*, either by exporting the *Materials* of Clothing, or by Ore-lading the Cloth-Trade with charge. The Remedy in the former, were to lay a restraint of exportation of Wools and Wool-fels out of *Ireland*, and to quicken the execution of the Statiute for that purpose in *England*, by encouraging the discouerers of such abuses.

The latter is the Sur-charging of the Cloth Trade, either generally or specially: this last, in the Impositions and Impreſt monies imposed by the *Merchant Aduenturers*: which as it is a charge laid vpon the *Drapery* of the *Kingdome*, I conceiue, vnder fauour, is a matter

that

that trencheth into the Supreme power and dignity of the KING, and is peculiar to HIM alone. And if for *Gouernment*, or other iuſt cauſes in *Societies* and *Corporations*, there bee a neceſſity of paying of debts, or defraying of neceſſary charge; I ſhould thinke it better policy to ſpare the *Cloth*, and other the *Natiue Commodities* of the *Kingdom*, and to implore HIS *Maieſties* fauour, to leuy ſuch charge vpon the *Forreine Commodities*: according to the Counſell of *Stephanus*, *Si Vectigal nouum euitari non poteſt, tunc onerentur merces peregrinæ, quæ ad luxum magis quàm ad neceſſitatem faciunt*. And this I conceiue would be a good remedy for eaſing the Cloth Trade of the preſent charge vnder the Merchants: which would alſo bee a meanes for paying of their debts, with a little more length of time, and a great deale of encouragement,

A Remedy for the charge vpon the Cloth.

Stephan lib. Senten.

ment, both to Clothiers and Merchants in the Cloth Trade.

And *Abroad*, if it appeare vpon examination, that the Residence of the Merchant Adventurers at *Delft* in *Holland* bee inconuenient for the Trade: As HIS *Maiestie* was graciously pleased to giue them that liberty for a triall, so it may please HIS *Maiesty* to dispose thereof, in some more fit place for their's and the *Publique good*.

The *Forreine Causes* of the Decay of the *Drapery*, I noted to bee *Generall*, as the *Warres*; or *Speciall*, as the great *Imposition in Holland*. The one is the worke of *God*, the other of the KING, to remoue the same. To whom I recommend them both.

A Remedy for Monopolies and too strict Trade.

And thus farre for the *Remedies* in the *Matter of Trade*, considered in *Money* and *Merchandize*: the *Forme* followeth in *Gouerned* and *Vngouerned Trade*. In the *Former*

I obſerued a *too ſtrict*, and in the *latter* a *too looſe* forme of Trade. The *Remedy* in the One, if it ſeeme good to the high wiſedome of HIS *Maieſtie*, may be *Priuatiue*, in racing and rooting out the name and vſe of *Monopolies* from amongſt this Nation, as HIS *Maieſtie* hath royally begun in that HIS Gracious Proclamation before mentioned. And to free and open the courſe of Trade, where now it is vnequally ſtopt, to the encouragement of the ſubiects, and the benefit of the Publique.

In the other *Poſitiue*, by diſpoſing the Trades of HIS *Maieſties* ſubiects that are now diſtracted, into *Order* and *Gouernment*. Whereof none hath more neede, as hath been ſhewed, then thoſe that Trade into the Dominions of the *King of Spaine*. Whoſe Trade the rather calleth for redreſſe, becauſe it exporteth Cloth and other the Manufactures

A Remedy for too looſe Trade.

nufactures of the *Kingdome*, and importeth *Treaſure*, the life of Trade: In both which there is now a marueilous great defect, and Trade in all mens hands *become ſo poore and leane*, that it doth ſcarce, *hærere oſſibus*. For where *Trade* is *diſordered*, and the *Traders vngouerned*, there they are like a houſe deuided, which cannot long ſubſiſt: according to that of the Orator, *Nec domus vlla, nec hominum vniuerſum genus ſtare, nec rerum natura omnis, nec ſine imperio mundus ipſe poteſt.*

Cic. de Legib.

μόνῳ σοφῷ Θεῷ δόξα.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

The Principall Cities and Townes, for execution of the Statute for searching and Sealing of Cloth, are in Counties,

- Three greater.
  - Wiltshire: Salisbury. Wilton. Westbury. Trubridge. Wotton-Basset. Deuizes. Malmsbury. Chipnam. Castlecomb. Calne. Bradford. Bromhil. Beckington. Warminster
  - Somersetsh: Bath. Wells. Freshford. Taunton. Philips-Norton. Frome. Somerton. Wellington. Bridgewater. Ilmister. Axbridge. Glastonbury.
  - Glocester: Glocester. Tedbury. Strowdwater. Dursley. Wotton-vnderhedge. Ebley. Witcomb. Winchcomb. Thornbury. Teuxbury. Cirencester.
- Sixe lesse.
  - Oxfordshire. Burford. Witney.
  - Worcesters. Worcester. Kidderminster.
  - Herefordshire Hereford. Lidbury.
  - Warwickshire. Warwicke. Couentry.
  - Deuonshire. Exceter. Tanton.
  - Hampsh. Southampton. Portsmouth.